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SOCIAL JUSTICE REVIEW

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MINORITIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I.

1. An Approach¹⁾

WE PERUSE PUBLICATIONS issued by the Soviet authorities in the field of the protection of minorities, we are impressed by the so called "solutions to the problem" offered by communism in any areas. All seems to be perfect, no difficulties loom up—all, so it seems, has been settled in a way that the national minorities concerned are completely "satisfied" with respect to their special needs in legislative and administrative policy.

At the outset, we must take into account the fact that in Soviet Russia written governmental acts are far from illustrating the actual results effected by executing the provisions of law. We must remember that this country is living under the domination of a single class, the Communists, directed by the edicts of a dictatorship. Law, as understood in a democracy, means practically nothing; the will of the "working class," as expressed by the commissars, means all.

Bearing this in mind, we will not be surprised to learn that minorities' problems, as a result of a "generous policy" granting "autonomy" and "freedom," have ceased to exist and that "the greatest successes" are to be noted in dealing with the groups concerned.

This, as we will see later, may be partly true, but in a very different sense, as is illustrated by the story of the ethnic and religious groups living within the borders of the formerly independent republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania: these groups were annihilated as such—no problem will arise in the future.

But first we may report on the "great achievements" of Soviet policy in the field of the protec-

tion of minorities as these achievements are concerned *in theory*. We quote O. I. Janowsky who reports as follows:

"The Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic of July 10, 1918, left to the nationalities the decision of joining the federation, prohibited the repression of national minorities, and provided for a Commissariat of Nationalities. As stated in Article 11, the nationalities constituted regional, provincial or smaller territorial units and enjoyed a status and a political structure similar to other territorial subdivisions. They were represented in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the same basis as corresponding territorial units.

"In administrative practice the nationalities enjoyed autonomy in cultural and local affairs. They were encouraged to choose from among their own people teachers, judges, and other local officials who were familiar with the language, customs and traditions of the people. The vernacular was recognized as the official language in the governmental agencies of the nationality. The schools employed this language as the medium of instruction.

"The constitution of 1936 introduced the Soviet or Council of Nationalities which was created by Stalin. The Council of Nationalities had special functions to guard the interests of the national units, to draft decrees in their favor, and to propose modifications of general laws to suit their needs. Stalin had encouraged and supervised the building of 'autonomous republics' and 'autonomous areas.' To afford constitutional sanction for this policy, he stretched the provisions of Article 11 of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., which dealt with regional unions of soviets, to include autonomous national

¹⁾ Kaelas, A., *Human Rights and Genocide in the Baltic States*, a documentation of legal and factual data on which this study is based and from which the excerpts are taken, having the authorization of the Estonian Information Center at Stockholm. The Preface is by K. Rebane.

units. In 1922, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been drafted.

"Of an estimated total population of about 200,000,000 in 1939, nearly one-half were not Great Russians, and every appreciable minority group among them possessed or was encouraged to aspire to national status."²⁾

Let us confront this "legal policy" with the compilation of facts submitted to the United Nations, based on verified and reliable data:

"As is generally known, the Soviet Union occupied the Baltic States in the summer of 1940 in accordance with a secret agreement between Ribbentrop and Molotov, signed in 1939. This first occupation lasted until the summer of 1941; after three years occupation by Germany, the Baltic States were re-occupied by the Soviet Union and are still under Soviet occupation. Already in the autumn of 1941 the Soviet authorities proclaimed the Baltic States an integral part of the Soviet Union, which implies that the legal order obtaining in the Soviet Union has been applied in the Baltic States since that date."³⁾

2. Slavery

The existence of slavery in the Soviet Union is no secret, as even the Soviet Penal Code (e.g., Art. 20 and 28) as well as several other laws mention the so-called corrective labor colonies, which is the official designation for slave labor camps. Moreover, on July 22, 1949, the British Government made public the Corrective Labour Code of the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic (*Gospolitizdat*, Moscow, 1941), which had existed since 1933 but had scarcely been known in the Western world. The above-mentioned Code, which contains one hundred and forty-seven articles, classes slave labor in the following subdivisions: 1) Corrective labor without deprivation of freedom, which can be inflicted either by the sentence of a court of law or (by) the decree of an administrative organ (Art. 8). Such a sentence may be served at the habitual place of work, or the culprit may be sent to other work organized by corrective labor organs within the frontiers of the Soviet Union (Art. 9 and 15), up to twenty-five per cent of his salary being deducted

(Art. 20). 2) Deprivation of freedom, which in its turn is subdivided into the following categories a) solitary confinement cells for persons under investigation; b) deportation points; c) corrective labor colonies; d) colonies for sick persons e) institutions for minors aged fifteen to eighteen years (Art. 28-40). 3) Exile combined with corrective labor (Art. 100). The members of the family of the deportee generally belong to this last category. They are deported to Siberian *kolkhozes*, as, e.g., was the case with a number of Estonian women in the mass deportations.

The slave labor camps are economically self-supporting (Art. 136), getting their income from the sale of their products (Art. 137). The camps are subordinated to the Chief Directorate of Corrective Labor Institutions (GULAG), which directorate is also responsible for the fulfilment of the economic and financial plans (Art. 135). To the Chief Directorate are subordinated the Directorates of Regions (Art. 131, 136), to which, in turn, the local commandants are subordinated (Art. 133).

At the head of the place of detention there is a commandant, who is entitled to inflict administrative punishment on the persons sent to corrective labor (Art. 133). On the basis of the joint ordinance of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, dated October 27, 1934, the corrective labor institutions were transferred from the jurisdiction of the republican ministries of justice to the NKVD (Art. 129) i.e., to the same institution which is maintaining these slave labor colonies. Thus a tyrannous state of things obtains in the Soviet Union—the master of the slaves has also the right of punishing them.

Under the first Soviet occupation in 1940-1941 no slave camps were established on Estonian territory. All who were condemned to forced labor were deported to penal colonies in Russia or sent to work at some isolated industry or *kolkhoz* of the USSR under the surveillance of the police.

The persons deported to slave labor were not charged with any offence, neither were they tried nor was any sentence passed on them. Certain groups of persons were arrested and carried off summarily.

The confidential so-called five-day report forms of which some specimens were found in Estonia after the flight of the NKVD in 1941, as well as

²⁾ Janowski, O. I., *Nationalities and National Minorities*, p. 85.

³⁾ Rebane, loc. cit.

er documents, reveal that the following categories of persons were to be registered in strict confidence as elements hostile to the Soviet regime: owners of factories, owners of large commercial enterprises, owners of large real estate, large landowners, ship-owners, members of the aristocracy; persons who had occupied leading positions in civil and municipal service in independent Estonia, and non-commissioned officers, policemen, leading members of the Home Guard, leading men of the political parties; Zionists, Freemasons, active members of Russian emigrant organizations; persons who had been employed at foreign legations, permanent representatives of foreign firms; persons whose relatives had escaped to foreign countries, persons whose relatives had made anti-Soviet propaganda in foreign countries, close relatives to persons who had been sentenced under Soviet law, etc. Documents concerning the confidential registration of the above-mentioned groups were presented to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in Lake Success in February, 1950, by the representative of the American Federation of Labor, Miss Toni Sender.

Through subsequent detailed investigations it has been ascertained that on the night of June 14, 1941, over 7,000 persons belonging to the above mentioned categories were deported to Russia. In some cases this number included families, small children not excepted. The duplicates of the bills of lading, which remained in Estonia, indicated that the destination of the wagons were the district of Novosibirsk (233 wagons), Kirov (120 wagons), Babynino (57 wagons) and Staobiel'sk (10 wagons).

Men were parted from their wives already at the stations of departure, both groups being stowed into separate wagons. On arrival they were put into different camps, never to hear of each other again. In some cases women were placed in such industries on the river Lena, or in *kolkhozes* in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

A second group of persons sent to slave labor without being guilty of any crime were "conscripts." When in 1941 war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, the occupying Soviet authorities in defiance of international law arrested compulsorily 33,304 men. These "conscripts" were deported to Russia and sent to slave labor and penal camps at Kotlas, Karagan-chabass, Omsk, Pechora, Kirov, Vladivostok, etc.

3. Torture and Cruelty

At the above mentioned mass deportations in June, 1941, the deportees were sent to Russia in freight wagons or cattle-vans. The wagon windows were barried and the only convenience was a hole in the floor. Twenty-five to thirty persons, in some cases more, were so crammed into a wagon that there was not enough room on the floor for them all to lie down at the same time. The doors of the full-loaded wagons were locked with iron bars. In such a state the wagons stood three days at the stations until the NKVD managed to arrange their departure as ordinary freight goods. In the bills of lading of the freight wagons or cattle vans the "freight goods" were quite plainly noted as "Men 30 per wagon," and as consigners as well as consignee—the NKVD. While the wagons stood at the stations, the deportees received no food or water. Only a few had taken food with them, but none had thought of taking water. In the burning hot summer sun thirst grew unbearable so that even hunger was forgotten. According to all available information, the deportations under the present occupation have been carried through in the same manner.

4. A New Kind of Dictatorial State

Lenin wrote in his time that in theory "... the Soviet State inevitably must be a new kind (?) of democratic state (*sic!*) (for proletarians and non-propertied people in general) and a new kind of dictatorial state (for the wealthy and the bourgeois)" (*Sochinenia*, 24, Moscow, 1932, p. 13). Proceeding from this point of view it will be quite comprehensible that Soviet justice lacks the primary principle of Western jurisdiction—one and uniform justice for all.

The Soviet Constitution and the Soviet Law concerning the Judicial System prescribe that the judges are to be independent and subject only to the law (Constitution, Art. 112 and Judicial System, Art. 6); but as great an authority as the former Chief Public Prosecutor, the late deceased Foreign Minister, Vyshinski, wrote quite frankly that a Soviet judge "... never allows any deviation from the general line of the Party," and further: "... all that is required of the judge is not so much his juridical education as a knowledge of the theories of Marx-Lenin and the policy of the Soviets" (*Sudoustroistvo v SSSR*, Moscow, 1940, p. 113 and 188).

Hence it is evident that the principles set up

by Lenin and requiring the destruction and extermination of bourgeois justice (*Vyshinski, Ueber die Sowjetjustiz*, p. 31), were implemented as soon as the Soviet Union had occupied the Baltic States in 1940. The former judges were discharged, and new ones nominated in their places, who frequently had no juridical training, some of them having no more than an elementary school education, but whom the Communist Party considered reliable, or inclined to let themselves be directed by political considerations.

The subordination of justice to Party policy under the first occupation is revealed by the fact that in 1940 the courts of law were subjected to severe political control by the Communist Party and the People's Commissariat of Justice. For this purpose a copy of every sentence passed by any court had to be sent to the People's Commissariat of Justice; the courts were often checked by representatives of the Party; the judges were summoned to so-called operative meetings in the People's Commissariat of Justice, where separate sentences and findings were criticized and the judges reprimanded for their political immaturity. The People's Commissariat of Justice often sent the courts circulars on jurisdiction, which had to be complied with regardless of whether they accorded with the law or not; e.g., the circular of the Estonian People's Commissariat of Justice, dated May 24, 1941, No. 27609, prohibited the courts from trying cases in which a third party was claiming the release of his property confiscated by mistake together with the property of some arrested person. Such claims were strictly within the law but, nevertheless, the courts were forbidden to consider them, the only basis for this prohibition being the above-mentioned circular. Under the present occupation, jurisdiction in Estonia is likewise subservient to Party policy, as exemplified by the fact that in April, 1950, the Communist Party proclaimed the Minister of Justice, A. Joeäär, guilty of an erroneous "cadre" policy, i.e., he had not succeeded in staffing the courts with people sufficiently devoted to the Party policy. His error was considered so great that, as a consequence, he was discharged from his post.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that according to the Soviet Penal Code the judge must base his judgment on his "Socialist sense (!!) of justice" (Art. 45). This "sense of justice" by no means depends on the judge himself, but on the

directives of the Communist Party and the administrative institutions, as has been shown above. Their principle, however, is: *salus revolutionis—suprema lex*.

According to the Soviet Constitution and Judicial System, every defendant has a right to defense (Constitution, Art. 111, and Judicial System, Art. 8). But in the so-called counter-revolutionary cases tried before special war tribunals, every possibility of defense is entirely eliminated. A special procedure for trying the so-called counter-revolutionary cases was implemented in 1934 after the murder of Kirov (known also as *lex Kirov*—Chapter 33 in the present Soviet Penal Code). This procedure requires that in so-called terroristic cases, cases of wreckers and diversionists, the indictment is handed to the accused not earlier than twenty-four hours before the hearing (Art. 46 and 471), so that the accused has no possibility whatsoever to bring counter-evidence in order to disprove the indictment. Secondly, all these cases are heard in the absence of the accused, i.e., the accused is not admitted to the tribunal when his case is heard; the session is never public, not even when the sentence is pronounced (Art. 468). Thirdly, no appeal is allowed in these cases (Art. 469 and 472). Fourthly, in the case of the highest penalty, i.e., the death sentence, the sentence is carried out immediately (Art. 470). Death is the most usual penalty in counter-revolutionary cases (Soviet Penal Code Art. 58¹-58¹⁴).

In the manner described, the Soviet occupying powers have sentenced thousands of persons in Estonia to death or to five to twenty years of forced labor. Very often their guilt was nothing more than that they had fought against the Soviet Union in the Estonian War of Liberation in 1918-1920, or held responsible positions at the time of Estonia's independence. The Soviet authorities declared that the Estonian War of Liberation had been a civil war and the Government of the Republic of Estonia a counter-revolutionary government. The Soviet Penal Code imposes the penalty of death through shooting for active participation in the struggle against the revolutionary movement during the Civil War (i.e., in 1918-1921) as well as for the holding of certain appointments under the Czarist regime or under the so-called White Russian Government (Art. 58¹²). Hence the bringing of the Estonian War of Liberation under this count as a clear case of the retroactive application of a law with regard to territories an-

izens of other states, i.e., of punishing people for activities which by no means were punishable at the time they were committed.

It must also be mentioned that in many so-called counter-revolutionary cases the members of the criminal's family are subject to punishment even if they do not participate in the crime. In addition to the cases already related, another example might be cited: the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army troops stationed in Estonia, Major-General Liubovtsev, issued an order as of May 5, 1941, which decreed: "The families of the bandits (or partisans) in hiding, or of those who have been shot, as well as families of deserters, are to be arrested immediately and put into prison, and their property confiscated." Thus whole families, small children not excepted, were subject to punishment. A similar order dating from the present occupation is known to have been issued by the NKVD Commissary, Major-General Martasiunas, on February 15, 1946, in Vilnius. According to it the relatives of the "bandits," who do not give themselves up voluntarily, are to be deported.

In addition to the above, it must be pointed out that the Soviet Penal Code allows the use of an analogy of justice (not to be confused with the analogy of law) (Art. 16). This makes it possible to construct any desired indictment against any person whom the administrative authorities consider injurious to the Soviet regime, regardless of whether the corresponding act in itself is punishable by law or not.

According to the Soviet Constitution, "the inviolability of the . . . privacy of correspondence is protected by law" (Art. 128). And as far as is known, no decree or regulation stating the opposite has been published. Yet it is no secret that no letter enters or leaves the Soviet Union without being subjected to censorship. At least all Soviet citizens know this—and are afraid of every kind of correspondence with the world outside the Soviet Union. By way of example, no philatelist in the Soviet Union lately has dared to exchange stamps with foreign collectors.

Estonians who have managed to escape abroad during the last years have repeatedly warned the refugees who have left Estonia earlier not to write to their relatives and friends in Estonia because the result of such correspondence is that the recipient will be subjected to close watching. The

same warning can be read between the lines of almost every letter which has come from Estonia. Likewise, the German POWs who have spent their captivity in Estonia and have been repatriated to Western Germany, have stated that everyone in Estonia is afraid of receiving letters from abroad.

In connection with the last wholesale deportation of March 23-28, 1949, it has been observed that, among others, almost all those who have had continuous correspondence with foreign countries have been deported.

Freedom of residence is impossible in the Soviet Union if for no other reason than because there is no freedom or choice of employment. Consequently only the unemployables, i.e., minors, children, invalids and the aged have the freedom to choose their residence themselves without the permission from director or principal.

This applies generally also to the members of *kolkhozes* who are not free to leave the *kolkhoz* at their own will.

In all cases a permission is required for moving from a rural section to a town, even if the person has no employment, and is not a member of a *kolkhoz*. Such permission has to be obtained from the police.

The freedom of movement and residence is, moreover, limited by the fact that great areas near the frontiers, as well as certain districts where slave labor camps are situated, are closed for the civil population. Thus, it is prohibited to travel to the largest Estonian island, Saaremaa, even for the funeral of near relatives, otherwise than with the permission of the police, which is very difficult to obtain.

(To be continued)

DR. HENRY K. JUNCKERSTORFF

"We see in vision a sorrowful procession. There are the sad faces of orphans, of widows, of mothers who await the homecoming of one who perhaps will never return; the faces of those who are being persecuted for justice and religion, prisoners, refugees, of those banished to exile, those in jail, the unemployed, the oppressed, those who suffer in mind and body, and the victims of every form of injustice. Many tears bedew the face of the earth; much blood reddens it! (Pope Pius XII, 1949 Christmas Message)

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION WAS NOT BY THE PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE

THE PRESENT SOCIAL and political instability of France may be said to have had its remote origins in the whims of a woman, the second centenary of whose birth we commemorate this year—the ill-starred Marie Antoinette. Not out of her perversities, as her enemies have declared, but certainly out of her provocations, came the fearful calamity of the French Revolution, which set the pattern for the Bolshevik Revolution and has plagued the world with our democratic heresies about equality and liberty. By her foolishness this modern Pandora, the wilful wife of the weak Louis XVI, opened the fateful box which was to let loose so much misery upon the world.

It was not that Marie Antoinette herself willed the terrible storm of violence which struck the King and herself down. But her folly and frivolity provided the Liberals and Freemasons with ideal propaganda wherewith to incite the rabble. It was at the instigation of her whims that the wavering King was induced to change and dismiss government ministers at the time when they were most needed. Mirabeau, who could have saved the monarch, was lost to the enemy this way.

Masonic Machinations

The more the complex history of the French Revolution is critically examined, the more obvious does it appear that it was the work of Liberalism and Freemasonry. It was not the supposed indignation or exasperation of the downtrodden people that flared up into revolt; but it was they who were used by the Duc d'Orleans, that debauched prince and intense hater of the Queen, to destroy her. Three years before the Revolution the Freemasons had decided on the death of Louis XVI and Gustave III of Sweden. The Duc saw in this secret society a means of advancing his evil ends. Accordingly, he had himself elected Grand Master in France and his conspirators enrolled.

Mrs. Webster, in her finely-documented study of the French Revolution, calls attention to a certain book written by an Englishman named Robinson, entitled *Proofs Of A Conspiracy Against All the Religions and Governments of Europe*,

Carried On In The Secret Meetings of the Free-Masons, Illuminati and Reading Societies. Robinson, himself an authentic Freemason, made a tour of the Continent where he reported that many spurious forms of Masonry had sprung up in Continental lodges. He complained that they had become the haunts of agitators and fanatics. "In their hands Freemasonry became a thing totally unlike, and almost in direct opposition to, the system imported from England, where the rule was observed that nothing touching religion or government shall ever be spoken of in the lodges." Finally, they allowed themselves to be influenced by an association whose leaders "disbelieved every word that they uttered and every doctrine that they taught," and whose "real intention was to abolish all religion, overturn every government, and make the world a general plunder and wreck."

The association referred to was that of the notorious *Illuminati*, whose principles were so disturbingly like those of modern Communism. They aimed at abolishing Christianity as well as all laws protecting property; at establishing universal equality and liberty; at destroying family life and taking the education of children out of the hands of their parents. These *Illuminati* lent impetus to Freemasonry in their irreligious and anarchical outbursts. Liberalism, through Rousseau and Mme. de Stael, was another tributary to the general torrent of destructiveness. It was these who helped create the legend of a downtrodden people hungering after bread and justice.

Reforms Had Already Begun

But the maligned Louis XVI had set reforms on foot even before the Revolution began. With the cooperation of Turgot and Malesherbes he initiated reforms in the very first year of his reign. He tried to circulate grain freely, and thereby infuriated the combines, the monopolizers and profiteers, who in revenge provoked the *Guerre des Farines*. It was these same monopolizers who engineered the terrible famine of 1788-1789, which the Duc d'Orleans used as the most potent weapon to stir up the rabble against the Court. In 1779 the King abolished servitude within his domains

and invited lesser rulers in his kingdom to follow his example; in the following year he abolished serfdom; in 1784 he accorded Protestants liberty of conscience; in 1787 he advocated the equality of territorial taxation and the suppression of the *salt tax*, or *taxe sur la sel*, which figures so prominently in history books. In that same year he reiterated his request for the free circulation of grain; he proposed reforms in the administration of justice, greater liberty for the press, and the abolition of the *lettres de cachet*, which were warrants of arrest by which troublesome people could be arrested and imprisoned indefinitely without trial. He continued to make economic cuts in the management of his household, and instituted hospital and prison reforms.

In the very year before the Revolution he called for the assembly of the States-General and granted double representation to the Third Estate. In every parish of every province assemblies were permitted for the discussion of abuses and grievances, and for proposals for reform. Lists of grievances, *les cahiers de doléances*, were submitted from every part of the country. In all of them the people manifested their loyalty and respect to the King. They were unanimous in declaring the French government monarchic, that the person of the King was to be regarded as inviolable and sacred, and that the crown was to be considered hereditary from male to male. There was general agreement that the King was to be regarded as the depositary of the executive power; that the nation was to make laws with the royal sanction; that the consent of the nation was necessary for loans and taxes and that property and individual liberty were sacred. There were abuses in the Old Regime, it is true, but all were capable of orderly reform. Like so many old orders, it, too, lacked vision and intelligent appreciation of the spirit of the time. It was not necessary that 10,000 should perish, and that all order and liberty be suppressed in its violent removal.

The People in Pre-Revolutionary France

Were the people of Paris really starving and driven by exasperation to overthrow a regime which remained callously indifferent to their hunger? Were the peasants so weighed down by tithes and taxation as to resemble gaunt scarecrows? It is very significant that no contemporary records or accounts verify this prevalent notion.

Dr. Rigby, who toured France during the summer of 1789, wrote his impressions in a series of letters to his friends in England. Their evidence is all the more impressive since he recorded simply and faithfully what he saw without striving for literary effects or the favors of political parties. In one letter, quoted by Mrs. Webster, he said:

"The general appearance of the people is different to what I expected; they are strong and well-made. We saw many agreeable scenes as we passed along in the evening before we came to Lisle: little parties sitting at their doors, some of the men smoking, some playing at cards in the open air, and others spinning cotton. Everything we see bears the mark of industry, and *all the people look happy*. We have indeed seen few signs of opulence in individuals, for we do not see so many gentlemen's seats as in England, but then *we have seen few of the lower classes in rags, idleness and misery*." And again: "How every country and every people we have seen since we left France sink in comparison with that animated country!"

Other impartial witnesses have recorded their impressions of pre-Revolutionary France in similar strains. None gives a hint that the people were "exasperated" and on the verge of revolt. None seems aware that a storm of violence is about to burst because the proletariat have reached the end of their endurance and are about to proclaim liberty, equality and fraternity.

The Tragic Revolt

Wilhelm Röpke in his splendid analysis of modern social and political trends, *The Social Crisis of Our Time*, after a fair-minded assessment of the causes of the French Revolution, concludes:

"The world would not be in its present hopeless state, nor would this book ever have been written if the errors of Rationalism—more fatal than all misguided passions—had not caused all the great and promising beginnings of the eighteenth century to end in a gigantic catastrophe of which we can still feel the effects: the French Revolution. This monumental and glorious century gave us music which promises to remain for thousands of years what the Parthenon is to us in archi-

ture; it gave us Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Montesquieu, Vico and Kant; and in the domain of politics it produced a piece of work so mature and enduring as the American Constitution. Yet in 1789 it ended in a tragedy which marked the beginning of the world crisis lasting to this day; and it is this date which for many has sullied the memory of the eighteenth century to an extent that blinds them to its true greatness and its yet unfulfilled promises."

In the bitter experience of the present we can fully accord with the author's statement that we are witnessing the breakdown of the world of 1789. And since the ideas of that era have spread across the globe, all countries are victims of the collapse in proportion to their participation in the ideas of Democracy and Liberalism which produced the French Revolution. We might say that its fire leapt from lodge to lodge of Freemasonry in the sort of mad destructiveness which was prepared to risk its own extinction if only the Catholic Church and the forms of society she had helped create, might also be destroyed. Indeed more than one French author had declared the French Revolution to have been of diabolic origin, so possessed did its agitators seem to inhuman energies and cunning, and so entirely dominated by the dynamism of hate.

Another scholarly work to which we have more than once referred in these pages, *Liberty or Equality*, by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, expands the saying of Lord Acton: "The deepest cause which made the French Revolution so disastrous to liberty was its theory of equality. Liberty was the watchword of the middle class, equality of the lower." All the modern age's hatred of aristocracy of birth or brain, its intolerance of individuality, its intellectual flatness, the envy and insecurity of the voting masses, its growing de-

mand for social security, its acceptance to totalitarianism and Statism—all stem from the French Revolution.

Not By The People Or For The People

One of the strange beliefs commonly held about the French Revolution is that it was inspired by the people for the people, and that its doctrines were established for the good of the people. But *it was not the people who desired or designed the French Revolution*. In the *memoires* of Hua, deputy of the Legislative Assembly, we read: "It has been said that the Revolution was made in public opinion before it was realized by events; this is true, but we must add it was not the Revolution as we saw it . . . it was not by the people that the Revolution was made in France."

As we have seen, Louis XVI had already taken cognizance of public opinion and initiated many basic reforms before the Revolution burst. "The people" continued to proclaim their respect for religion, their loyalty to the King and their desire for law and order. They, who were supposed to have been exploited by their masters, were in reality exploited by the Freemasonry which then, as now, shows signs of being the Devil's instrument for the destruction of Christianity. The effect of the Revolution on the French people has been disastrous, and might be disastrous for the whole free world, if nations continue to indulge in puerile political wranglings in these critical days when unity among the Western nations is so vitally necessary. Anarchy, republicanism and imperialism, interspersed with more revolutions—France has tried them all in turn. But she has lost the cement of permanency. Meanwhile "the people," in whose name so much was suffered and done, wait for the long-deferred fruits of the Revolution.

LIAM BROPHY, PH.D.
Dublin, Ireland

An Associated Press report of March 28 announced that a thirty-hour work week is being discussed by the CIO United Auto Workers as the next objective after the guaranteed annual wage. The president of the U.A.W., Walter Reuther, is quoted in the dispatch as follows:

"We are going in year after year and ask for

more and more and more because we are entitled to more and more and more. When we get our basic economic needs satisfied and when we get the economic problems nailed down, the next demand has to be for a shorter work week so we'll have more time to enjoy the good things of life we have."

SCANDINAVIAN JOURNEY

III. DENMARK

LEFT SCHLESWIG for Denmark on June 25th, a warm and sunny day. In the morning I attended for the last time the early meeting of the Evangelical Academy.¹⁾ A well-known Lutheran pastor commented on the Gospel parable of the man who invited his many friends to share his feast, all of whom, however, declined his invitation for various reasons. Mark, the pastor said to social workers, what excuses these people presented to the nobleman. The first excuse was money, the second—work, and the third—a wife. In our lives we must be careful not to decline the call of Christ for the sake of money, because of absorbing work, or family cares. Social work and social welfare are all right; but to reduce Christianity merely to them is a grave error. So many people neglect church regularly, or men refuse to become pastors, because they have no time for anything but the search for comfort and material well-being.

Afterwards I had a long talk with the pastor. He was known as a prominent member of the popular Missions Movement. He had a parish of 5,000 souls. About 250 adults were regular church-goers. On Sundays his church was always filled. He told me that the number of vocations to the ministry was slowly increasing. The Movement pays for the education of ordinands in the Eastern and Western zones.

The secretary of Pastor Heyer saw me off at the station. The Hamburg-Frederikshaven Express, "The Northern Arrow," stopped at Schleswig for only a few minutes. It was its last stop on German soil. I had my passport stamped before I entered the coach. The intelligent, polite customs officers passed my suitcase without looking into it. There was no longer any currency control as there was two years ago. Germany has since then made its astonishing economic recovery. Instead of being a chief debtor, it has become the principal creditor of the European Payment Union. It has begun to recapture its former Balkan markets in Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

Northern Schleswig is a good farming country with a prosperous population. For a long time it was the object of contention between the Danes

and the Germans. In Flensburg the train left German territory and crossed into Denmark. The coach's doors, locked up to this point, were unlocked and the Danish police and customs officers moved in. Many Danes entered the train and for the first time I heard the Danish tongue around me. It is pleasant and musical. Danish grammar is as simple as the English; but Danish spelling is no easier and possibly even harder than the English; there are no rules. The spelling of every word must be heard and memorized. My fellow passengers in the compartment were Norwegians and the Danes. Silent while we crossed Germany, they became quite voluble when they entered Scandinavia. The Germans are not very popular in Denmark and Norway since the last war because of the Nazi occupation.

Danish Economy

While "The Northern Arrow" moved rapidly across the plains of Jutland, I studied my books on Denmark. This country consists of the peninsula of Jutland and as many as five hundred islands, and has an area of 16,576 sq. miles, or 44,300 sq. klms. The population is just over four million, of whom one million live in Copenhagen and an additional million are in provincial urban settlements. The average density of the population in Denmark is ninety-four people for every square kilometer. The concentration is heaviest in the islands and is lightest in Jutland. Denmark is a pleasant, rolling country. Nearly seventy-five per cent of the Danish land is devoted to agriculture. Danish farms are generally small, under fifty acres; but their productivity is among the highest in the world. Farm products form the chief item of Danish exports, while feed for cattle, machinery and manufactured goods comprise its imports. Great Britain is the chief customer and the chief supplier of Denmark, but it sells more than it buys. Before World War II Germany was a substantial buyer of Danish agricultural products. It is much less so now. By tremendous effort Western Germany has raised its agricultural production to such a point that it now needs to import hardly twenty per cent of its food, as compared to nearly fifty per cent for Great Britain. I un-

1) Cf. *SJR*, April, 1954, p. 12.

derstand the Soviet Union has begun to buy Danish products in large quantities. Apart from agriculture, industry provides employment for thirty per cent of the population. In 1948 there were 641,000 workers in Denmark. The Danes are also fishermen to a very great extent. They fish from Greenland and Iceland to the coast of Morocco as well as around their own coasts.

The deeper the train penetrated into Denmark the more I was reminded of Ireland. The sunshine disappeared. The sky became overcast with low, gray, rain-bearing clouds. The vegetation was as green and luxuriant as in Ireland. At about one o'clock in the afternoon we reached Fredericia, a town of about 26,000 inhabitants, founded in 1650 by King Frederick III in order to protect the communications between Jutland and the islands. Fredericia boasts one of the largest and oldest Catholic islands in this Lutheran country. The rail route from Fredericia is very picturesque, with the sea and the Danish island of Fano on the right.

I arrived at Aarhus about 4:00 P.M. This town of 111,000 inhabitants is the largest in Jutland and the second largest in size in Denmark. Aarhus is an ancient city. The building of the cathedral was started toward the end of the XII century. Pre-Reformation Aarhus boasted many Catholic monasteries and institutions, all of which were swept away by Protestantism. The city itself nearly disappeared as a result of wars, fire and crises. It started to revive about one hundred years ago and is now very prosperous. It boasts a modern university with 1,600 students. A port, trading and cultural center, Aarhus has good prospects for the future. Near the town there are some five castles of great Danish nobles of the past. As soon as we left Aarhus, heavy rain started to pour and everything became gray and dismal. Nevertheless, I could not fail to notice the prosperous farms, the clean, well-built houses and the comfortable stations on the way.

I left the express in Randers and changed trains once more in Hobro. The rain became a veritable downpour, more proper to India in the monsoon season than to a northern country like Denmark. I now travelled by a small train on an unimportant railway branch. All the people about me were Danes, mostly farmers—plump, prosperous-looking fellows.

I arrived at my destination point in Northern Jutland at about 6:00 P.M. It was still raining.

The Very Reverend Alf Johansen, Lutheran Dean of Salling, awaited me on the platform. My friend was born forty-five years ago in Nebraska, where his father, also a pastor, ministered to the American Lutherans of Danish descent. He was brought back to Denmark as a child. In the course of time he graduated from the Divinity School of the University of Copenhagen, married a Danish girl who was also born in Nebraska, and was appointed rector in Salling. A few years later the rector of Salling was made the dean.

Religion and Morals

We entered the car and went to Salling. The Dean's home in Salling is a roomy house in the usual Scandinavian style—very comfortable and wonderfully clean. Mrs. Johansen was a most charming hostess and my stay in Salling was delightful. The Danes are famous for their hospitality. I must confess that I greatly enjoyed the Danish food, customs and manners. My host administered the parishes of Salling with six hundred and fifty souls and Astrop with three hundred and fifty people. The proportion of regular church-goers or, as the French say *pratiquants*, was six per cent in Salling and nine per cent in Astrop. This proportion is considered good for Lutheran Scandinavia. It must be remembered that a Catholic who does not attend Sunday Mass without a serious excuse commits a grave sin; a Lutheran does not recognize such an obligation. He goes to church when he feels so inclined. Nevertheless, the average Dane must not be considered to be a free-thinker or an irreligious man. He is religious according to his own fashion. The Dane is also a person of good morals. There are a very few divorces in Denmark, still less crimes or juvenile delinquency. The people are honest and truthful. The weakness of the Danes, as of all the Scandinavians, is their cult of comfort which nearly amounts to a religion.

The Dean of Salling is a serious student of the problem of relations between Church and State in the Communist countries. In 1950 he published a detailed and well-documented study *Den Russiske Kirke i Day* (Gad, Forlay, Kobenhavn). In 1955 he made a personal visit to the Soviet Union which lasted several weeks. Mr. Johansen speaks a good Russian and was able to talk with many people in Leningrad, Moscow, Zagorsk, Sverdlovsk, Kiev etc. This visit made a very great impression on him. He was astonished to find out that Christ

anity survived in the Soviet Union far better than he expected: Churches were overcrowded everywhere; there were many young worshipers; there were flourishing monasteries, seminaries and theological academies. The clergy were well-supported and respected. The extraordinary religious fervor of the people impressed him most. Although the Dean has travelled widely in the West, he maintained that nowhere had he seen greater fervor. He firmly believes that Moscow is more religious than Copenhagen which is not much worse than Paris, Madrid or even Rome. The Danish Lutheran bishops approved of the Dean's studies and thus he continued them in relation to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania.

Historical Background

I stayed a week in Salling trying to understand Danish life and the Danish religion. It is presumed that the Danes have lived in their country at least 4,000 years. They belong to the Scandinavian branch of the Germanic race and are one of the purest European races. They are usually tall and blond—true Nordics, while the majority of the Germans are not. The Danes appear in European history as Vikings around 800 A. D. At that time they began their wholesale plunder of the English, Irish and Scottish coasts. Later on they extended their operations to France, Portugal, Sicily, etc. They succeeded for a time in establishing kingdoms in Ireland, in occupying a part of England and in founding the Duchy of Normandy in France. St. Ansgar introduced Christianity in Denmark as early as the first decades of the IXth century. However, it was not firmly established in the country

till the reign of the King Canute the Great (1014-1035).

The history of Denmark is brilliant from the tenth till the thirteenth century. In 1003 King Svend conquered England, and from 1018 till 1035 Canute the Great reigned over Denmark, England and Norway. Although England was lost in 1042, St. Canute succeeded in firmly establishing the Danish monarchy. Under Valdemar the Great, Archbishop Absalon of Lund (d. 1201) founded Copenhagen. The same prelate led a crusade to Estonia and conquered it. The age of internal wars and revolutions which closed this period, was followed by a renewed prosperity. In 1380 Norway joined Denmark. Seventeen years later, in Kalmar, Queen Margrethe of Denmark and Norway was proclaimed Queen of Sweden as well. A great northern empire was thus created.

It did not, however, survive very long. The Swedes wanted a return of their independence and finally broke away. The Danish-Swedish wars continued for centuries. Denmark lost to the Swedes the provinces of Scania, Holland and Blekinge in 1659, and finally Norway in 1814. While thus losing much to the Swedes, the Danes succeeded in taking from the disunited Germans the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. These Duchies involved them in wars with Austria and Prussia in the XIXth century. During these centuries the Danish monarchy changed from an elective type into an autocracy and then into a modern constitutional kingdom.

(To be concluded)

DR. S. BOLSHAKOFF
Oxford, England

During the visit of Denmark's Prime Minister, K. C. Hansen, to the German Federal capital some weeks ago, statements were published with regard to the minority groups living on both sides of the German-Danish border. Matters concerning these groups have long been of the greatest public interest in both countries. Commenting on the statements, Dr. Adenauer, as quoted in *The Bulletin* of the Bonn Government of April said in part:

"The statements are a good foundation for future measures concerning the minorities. It is mainly a matter of securing parliamentary repre-

sentation for both minority groups; of increasing the subsidies for Danish schools; and of obtaining unreserved examination rights for both groups. Considerable progress has been made by the recent negotiations. A satisfactory solution of the mutual minority problem is bound to promote good neighborly relations between the two countries as well as their general cooperation. Fortunately, it has been possible during the last decade to renew many of the old bonds which the war had destroyed and to find answers for questions still open after the war."

Warder's Review

Discriminating Against Parochial School Children in Missouri

THE PRESENT SESSION of the Missouri State Legislature has recently killed a bill which would have provided bus transportation at State expense to all children regardless of the type of school they attend. The original bill, as well as the substitutes introduced in the current session, regarded bus transportation for school children as a public health, welfare and safety service given to the individual child as a citizen of the United States, and not as an educational service rendered to the school attended by the child.

The immediate cause of this new approach to the school bus problem was the unanimous decision of the Missouri Supreme Court in the case of Hawkins vs. McVey, June 8, 1953, which found unconstitutional the existing law providing bus transportation to children attending parochial schools. The Court found the law violative of the Missouri Constitution because the money used to transport children (in this case) to St. Dennis Catholic School in Benton was taken from the "incidental fund" of the school district, which fund is ordered to be "faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining free public schools and for no other uses or purposes whatsoever."

In other words, the whole question in this case concerned the *use of certain funds* in the transportation of parochial school children. The Supreme Court took great pains to emphasize the limited scope of its decision when it declared in the conclusion of its decision: "We express no opinion on any issues not directly decided herein." Earlier in the decision it stated:

"We need not review the cases cited in support of respondents' contention that the transportation at public expense of all school children to and from whatever schools they may attend (public or private, sectarian or non-sectarian) is a valid, constitutional and lawful exercise of the police power of the state, because in this case we have a very different question, to wit, *can such transportation be had to a private school at the expense of the public school funds limited by the constitution to the exclusive purpose of establishing*

and maintaining free public schools." (Italics *SJR*)

On the basis of this decision, which was not appealed further, Catholics and others interested in non-public schools in Missouri sought to have bus transportation furnished from the *proper funds* for all children irrespective of the kind of schools they attend. Here certainly is a very obvious case of distributive justice. Parents of Catholic school children, like other citizens, pay the taxes which make public funds possible. That they share in the benefits provided by these funds is only just, and most obviously so. Nor are their rights in this respect forfeited because their children attend schools which are not "public." They have a constitutional right to send their children to parochial schools according to the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the celebrated Oregon School Case, June 1, 1925. Moreover, Missouri has a compulsory education law constraining parents to send their children to school—*to a school of their choice.*

As it is, parochial school children in Missouri find themselves being discriminated against and disfranchised merely because they and their parents are availing themselves of their constitutional rights. It was to remedy this glaring breach of distributive justice that House Bill 100 was introduced into the Missouri Legislature. Instead of being considered and debated on its merits, in an atmosphere of calmness and objectivity, the bill became the occasion of a wave of blind bigotry which entirely obscured the points at issue. A bitter attack against parochial schools was launched, spearheaded by P.O.A.U. and handsomely abetted by Scottish Rite Masonry which made funds available for carrying on the fight in the name of "separation of Church and State." No other reason was given for opposing bus rides for parochial school children from State funds, save that this would break down "the wall of separation." Precisely why other public services to Catholics do not break down this "wall" was never explained. Suffice it to say that, under the impact of the pressure brought to bear on the Legislature by P.O.A.U., the Freemasons, the Baptists and others, House Bill 100 and its substitutes suffered the fate of being killed in com-

nittee. Which means that, despite the importance of the issues involved and the extraordinary public interest in this bill, it did not reach the floor of the Assembly for a vote. This was hardly democratic process about which we read so much these days.

All citizens of the United States are equal under the law. In certain matters, such as education, the privileges of equality are not enjoyed by Catholics in our country. Archbishop Aloisius J. Muench brings this point out quite forcefully in his 1955 Lenten Pastoral Letter, now being published serially in *SJR*. Catholics in Missouri tried to surdle this bias against non-state-controlled education by having bus transportation of their children regarded as a welfare service and not an educational service. This is a realistic approach because a bus ride, like a lunch or an inoculation against disease, is given to the child and not to the religious body to which he belongs.

The motto of the State of Missouri is: *Salus populi suprema lex esto*—"Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law." It should not have to be demonstrated that children in non-public schools are a segment, a very important segment, of the *populi*. Their welfare at present is a tragic casualty of a bigotry alien to Christianity, to the spirit of our Republic and to all decency. We look with hope for the day when this and similar injustices will be eliminated from our land.

V. T. S.

Are Co-ops Too Big?

CO-OPERATIVES AREN'T nearly big enough to do the job in this country that they are cut out to do. Co-ops will be big enough, only when their operation is effective in (1) diminishing the need for government help and increasing the number of people who have ownership stakes in the national economy, and (2) in serving as a free-enterprise yardstick against which the efficiency of the economy can be measured.

Statistically, I suppose co-ops already figure big enough. More than 12,000,000 United States families own shares in co-operatives—three times as many as own stock in all the corporations listed in the nation's stock exchanges.

Two out of three of the nation's 6,000,000 farmers belong to one co-operative or more. Their co-operatives market twenty-five per cent of all farm crops and buy twenty per cent of all farm

supplies, including fifteen per cent of their fertilizer and sixteen per cent of their petroleum products.

The fourth largest insurer of automobiles is the co-operatively oriented Farm Bureau Mutual Automobile Insurance Company of Columbus, O. As its president, I'd like to say that we were glad to lend \$4,000,000 to make one old co-operative dream come true: national distribution of fruits and vegetables on a multiple-commodity basis by one co-operative, American National Foods.

Rural electric co-operatives, with nearly 4,000,000 members, are credited with bringing electricity to nearly ninety per cent of United States farms.

Credit unions now number 15,000 with nearly 8,000,000 members and assets topping \$2 billion.

Scattered over the nation are co-operative shopping centers, hospitals, medical-care plans and home-ownership projects. There is hardly an economic or social need that people somewhere in this land are not trying to meet for themselves co-operatively.

Yet, co-operatives do no more than two or three per cent of the nation's business. One corporation, General Motors, in 1953 did a volume of business as great as that of *all* the farmers' marketing and purchasing co-operatives.

The combined assets of our co-op-minded insurance companies are less than two per cent of the largest non-co-operative-type company.

It must be remembered, too, that the various state-wide and regional co-ops operate for the most part independently of each other; in some cases they compete with each other. Many regional and state-wide co-ops, however, have joined to form national educational and promotional organizations such as the Co-operative League, the American Institute of Co-operation, the National Council of Farmer Co-operatives, the National Rural Electric Co-operative Association, and the Credit Union National Association.

The size and scope of co-operatives today is far too small to suit those of us who believe that co-operatives can do much to help push the world toward plenty and peace.

Yet, small as they are, they already have exerted a healthy "people's" influence on segments of the economy, particularly in their yardstick role.

MURRAY D. LINCOLN¹

¹⁾ Excerpts from an article in *The Reporter Magazine*, as reprinted in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, of May 17.

Contemporary Opinion

DEPRECIATION OF (words) is an evil. A word is not merely a sign to convey a meaning. It is a living thing, embodying spirit. In company with other words it makes up language, and language is the room in which man lives. It is the world of mental images from which the light of truth is ever breaking upon him.

When a word decays, it is not merely that we become uncertain of each other's meaning. One of the forms that compose our life has perished. A signpost has been extinguished and our intellectual day made darker.

To restore to its original meaning a word that is being destroyed by careless use is a service to the whole of human life.

ROMANO GUARDINI, quoted in
The Tablet, London

Many of the protests raised at the danger that cheap Japanese goods will be dumped on the local market are the expression of a worthy reaction against sub-human labor conditions and low standards of living among the workers of Japan. New Zealanders are conscious that their own attitude to such matters more closely approaches the standards of justice and humanity by which the individual should live; and the criticism of oriental practice is registered quite soundly in the refusal to accept the products of a notoriously evil system. The real issue, however, goes far deeper, and cannot be adequately treated by any mere statement of moral reprobation. However unpopular may be the sentiment, it is only truth to note that the Japanese have a point of view, too.

For them it is not always a clear-cut choice between low standards of living and high standards of living. It is more often a choice between low standards and no standards at all—between life eking out precariously, and death. Cheap shirts flooded on the world's markets are only the symptom of the basic trouble. For the majority of Japanese workers the alternative to sending cheap shirts abroad is wearing cheap shrouds at home—if their relatives are able to afford such amenities for the dead. The problem is essentially one of providing the sheer necessities of life for a teeming population crowded into a restricted area.

Any solution of the problem must go to its heart,

if a permanent cure is to be found for a world malady which cannot indefinitely be confined within the sick-room that is Japan. At root the matter is one of the just distribution of the earth's resources. Almost alone among the leaders, the Holy Father has made this the subject of repeated entreaties to the nations for "the more favorable distribution of men on the earth's surface—that surface which God created and prepared for the use of all."

Zealandia, Feb. 24

Almost everyone who cares earnestly about freedom is aroused against the Communists. But it is not only the Communists, it is in a more subtle way the Socialists who are blocking the efforts of the free world to recover its poise and its once-firm resistance to tyranny.

In Italy, by voting with the Communists, they ousted De Gasperi's strong and wise government, and they are keeping his successors weak through the menace of similar action.

In France, by refusing hearty collaboration with "capitalist" parties, they have made it impossible to form any stable government at all, producing just that chaos which the Communists desire.

In Germany, after doing their best to oust Adenauer and his brilliant Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard, who accomplished almost single-handed "the miracle of German recovery," they are, as this is written, opposing his plan of re-armament, which offers the sole hope of effective West European resistance to an invading Communist army.

In England, they made a recovery like that of Germany impossible; their government recognized Communist China; and they are pushing to confirm for all time the Communists' hold on the impregnable land mass, or planetary fortress, of Eurasia.

In Norway, they have produced the closest imitation of an authoritarian state to be found this side of the iron curtain.

In America we seem remote from all this, but it is only because the Socialists in large numbers have abandoned the party label, adopting the Fabian policy of infiltration in other groups....

MAX EASTMAN

Reflections on the Failure of Socialism
Devin-Adair Co., New York

I personally believe that the Chinese national character is much more receptive to communist and collectivist ideas than that of Russia. The Russian, at heart, has always been an anarchist, refractory to law and order. The stress on person and personality (individualism, if you insist) has come into this world through Christianity, which teaches that every human being has an intransigent destiny and a personal responsibility for every act, word and thought.

The Russian background is Christian. Christianity in Russia is not dead. It would not be inconceivable that tomorrow we might have to aid Russia—a very different Russia—against the onslaught of Red Chinese masses. Christianity in Russia can re-emerge any time, whereas the Christian subsoil of China, though drenched by the blood of many martyrs, is very small.

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN
Catholic Chronicle, April 29, 1955

A non-Catholic religious weekly recently carried a headline stressing the "fact" that "Catholic" countries have been breeding grounds for Communism. The suggestion is that somehow Catholicism leads to or produces Communism. There is a possible element of truth in this in so far as where religion is clear and definite, as in Catholic countries, atheism and materialism cannot camouflage themselves as "broad-mindedness" and so are forced into the open. Another factor is that people brought up on the logic of Catholicism, when they reject it, cannot find any logical alternative within Christianity. Half-measures simply do not interest them. Unconsciously they illustrate the truth of Christ's own warning "He that is not with Me is against Me."

Southern Cross
Cape Town, S. A., March 16

State Socialism or undue Statism is the danger today, in Ireland as in most parts of the world. Now and then one comes across articles, opinions or speeches the tendency of which is, consciously or unconsciously, Socialist. Those who express such views in this country are seldom of the type that would disclaim obedience and loyalty to the Church. But they are prone to think that Catholic truth is confined to matters like the Trinity and the Incarnation. That is what they understand by 'spiritual realities,' in defence of which, I have no doubt, they would give their

lives. In fact, of course, there are other spiritual realities which are not listed—explicitly at least—in manuals of the Catholic faith. I refer to such things as individual and family rights and responsibilities and the just claims of legitimate voluntary societies to be left alone. The importance of these things cannot be overestimated and the danger of forgetting them must not be minimized. It is not those who see who truly prize sight, but the blind who once could see but cannot now. If our rights and liberties are taken from us, we will then know their value, but only when it is too late to do anything.

JEREMIAH NEWMAN
The Irish Ecclesiastical Record
February, 1955

Fragments

"IF THE ARTISTIC EXPRESSION turns instead to a false, empty and unclean spirit which deforms the design of the Creator, if instead of elevating the mind and heart to noble sentiments, it should incite the more vulgar passions, it might find acclaim or acceptance by some, even if only because of novelty which is not always of merit.

"But such art would degrade itself, denying its own principal and essential aspect, and would be neither universal, nor perpetual as is the spirit of man to which it is addressed." (Pope Pius XII on fifth centenary of Fra Angelico's death.)

"The Bandung Conference of the Afro-Asian countries might well go down in the annals of our troubled times as one of the most significant victories of facts over propaganda." (Robert Keyserlingk in *The Ensign*)

Cigarette sales of major producers last year declined \$162,000,000, or five per cent. At that, they totaled almost three billion dollars.

"Education must do more than prepare our students to earn their living and to accomplish their vocational work, narrowly considered. It must prepare them to use constructively and in a manner at once happy and wholesome the added hours of 'spare time' which will be theirs in an age of automation and reduced working hours." (Bishop John J. Wright in an interview at the N.C.E.A. convention.)

THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

Theory

Procedure

Action

RELIGION IN EDUCATION

II

Parents in a Democracy

AMERICANS ARE PROUD of their democracy. Rightly so, even though they are aware of its defects and imperfections. The achievement of its ideals has gone steadily forward, even if at times the pace seemed slow. The fact is, nevertheless, that it has been a source of many benefits and blessings.

A genuine democracy is characterized by a respect for the rights and freedoms of others, especially those of a minority. In such a democracy the rights of parents to the integral education of their children rest secure. If they are violated, it is a sure sign that democracy, to say the least, fails in its high objectives.

In the first place, a genuine democracy subscribes to the principle that the child belongs, not to the state, but to the parents. Then, it upholds as a cardinal tenet that in their basic rights all men, regardless of race, color, religion, or conditions of life, are equal.

The Oregon School Case

That the child belongs to the parents and not to the state is good American doctrine. The Oregon School Case, to which we have already referred, made that clear beyond dispute.

The case is briefly this: In November, 1922, the voters of the State of Oregon passed a law providing that every child from eight to sixteen shall attend none other than a public school. The law was declared unconstitutional in the lower courts. The decision was appealed by the State of Oregon. But on June 1, 1925, the Supreme Court of the United States declared it unconstitutional. The decision has become historic. The nine Justices concurred unanimously in the decision—a rare occurrence in the history of the Court.

The opinion written is momentous in this that it upholds "the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control." The Court opposed the view that the state has general power "to standardize the children by forcing them to accept instruction

by public school teachers only." In effect, this is a defense of free enterprise in education against a monopoly of the state. The underlying argument of the Court carries unusual weight. It deserves to be noted. In defense of parental rights the Court declared: "The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations."¹⁾

Other Significant Judgments

Other decisions of recent date affirm the principle that the child belongs not to the state but to the parents. Thus, in the Meyer vs. Nebraska Case, the Supreme Court decided that the will of parents is the determining factor where the education of their child is involved. The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Prince vs. Massachusetts Case (1944) is deserving of quotations. It held: "It is cardinal with us that the custody, care and nurturing of the child reside first in the parents, whose primary function and freedom include preparation for obligations the state can neither supply nor hinder."²⁾

Parental rights were upheld in the Levison Case by the Supreme Court against a threatened invasion by the State of Illinois. Among the most noteworthy and strongest decisions ever written in an educational case upholding parental authority was that delivered by Justice McReynolds in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. Armstrong Case. His words merit close attention and reflection. He wrote: "The authority of the father results from his duties. He is charged with the duties of maintaining education. These cannot be performed without the authority to command and to enforce obedience.

"The term education is not limited to the ordinary instruction of the child in pursuit of literature. It comprehends a proper attention to the religious and moral sentiments of the child.

"In discharging this duty it is the undoubtedly right of the father to designate such teachers either in morals, religion, or literature, as he shall

¹⁾ Cf. Keller: *All God's Children*, 47-48, Hanover House, N. Y., 1953.

²⁾ Keller: op. cit., p. 48.

seem calculated to give correct instruction to the child.

"No teacher, either in religion or in any branch of education has any authority over the child except what he derives from the parent or guardian and that authority may be withdrawn whenever the parent, in exercise of his disciplinary power, may think proper."³⁾

The point of weight in this declaration is that education includes also a proper attention to the religious and moral requirements of the child, that the father has the right to designate the teacher for the instruction of his child in morals, religion, or literature, and that the teacher has only such authority over the child as the parent or guardian may grant him. This view stands in sharp opposition to a trend in public education here and abroad that makes the teacher a functionary or civil servant of the state.

The Pope on Education

The position taken consistently by the Supreme Court in cases bearing on parental rights is in complete harmony with that of the Sovereign Pontiffs of our day. It has been noted already that Pius XI mentioned the Oregon Case decision with approbation.

In the last century when educational questions became acute under the attacks of narrow-minded liberals and irreligious socialists, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) defended the rights of parents to the education of their children on the ground that it is their duty to train and rear their children in accord with the high purpose for which God gave them offspring. In more recent times both Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) and Pope Pius XII found necessary to champion parental rights against totalitarian dictators who arrogated to the state the first and primary right to educate the child.

The former declared in unmistakably clear words that "the family holds directly from the Creator the mission and hence, the right to educate its offspring, a right inalienable because inseparably joined to a strict obligation, a right anterior to any right whatever of civil society and of the State, and therefore, inviolable on the part of any power on earth."⁴⁾ Again and again, in discourses and messages, he restated this truth so basic for education.

³⁾ Keller: *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁾ Encyclical on Christian Education, 31 December, 29.

Like his predecessor, Pope Pius XII emphasized and re-emphasized the educational principle "that the parents have a primary right in education, founded in the very order of nature, and hence inviolable and prior to whatever rights society and the state may claim to education."⁵⁾

Stated in another way, parental rights are God-given: they come to parents with the life of a child entrusted to them. Having the primary duty to its upbringing, the rights needed as instruments for the discharge of this duty must also be primary. By the very nature of things these rights cannot be subsidiary to the state. So inseparably are they joined to parental duty that they cannot be alienated or waived or handed over to the state, its functionaries, or teachers. These rights are sacred, and therefore inviolable; no power on earth has authority to lay hands on them.

True Liberalism

Catholic and American tenents, therefore, on the subject of parental rights are basically the same. This caused an American, a student of American jurisprudence and of papal pronouncements, to remark: "Liberals as well as democrats might take with profit to their thinking the modern Popes as their teachers."

"Why?" he asked. He replied, "Because they are liberals in the true sense of the word, asserting and defending the liberties of men against the encroachment of the totalitarians on the one hand, and on the other, against a growing crop of statists. Strange enough, on the subject of education liberals are not true to their creed; for genuine liberalism, derived from the word *liber* (free) should make liberals the first and not the last to champion the rights of parents to the integral education of their children; this must include the choice of the school required to satisfy the demands of the liberties of conscience."

Then, he added in his comment, "The modern Popes are advocates of all that is basic to true democracy: the dignity and worth of a human being; the equal rights and inviolable freedoms of man; the honored place of the family in human society; the sacred character of private property, the home, and private enterprise; the limitation of powers of governments by the right and duties of their subjects; the inculcation of social responsi-

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*

bilities by social justice and social charity." A good, even though sketchy, summary of the matter. Indeed, the papal documents reveal in striking manner the sound principles of a genuine democracy.

Among these the principle of equality is so momentous that true democracy cannot be conceived without it. The Declaration of Independence expressed it as a self-evident truth "that all men are created equal"—equal in basic rights with which every human being is vested.

This principle has an important bearing on the rights of parents in education. Since parents are subject to compulsory school laws, they have a right to demand from the pertinent state, local, or school governments that the burdens placed on them be made on an equitable basis according to the dictates of distributive justice. That this is not done in the United States is known to every one with eyes to see and ears to hear. Parents who cannot for reasons of conscience use the public schools for their children must build and maintain schools at their own expense while paying taxes for the schools they cannot use: a double burden. This is anything but equitable—a violation of democracy's cardinal principle of equality.

That there are grave obstacles in our country for achieving an equitable solution to this problem is readily admitted. Similar obstacles had to be hurdled in other countries—Holland, Luxembourg, Scotland, Ireland, the Province of Quebec, and several others.

A Matter of Justice

In this connection it may be noted that last year the Colorado Schools Protective Association, consisting mostly of farmers and ranchers, resolved: "not to abolish public schools but to remit part of the taxes that parents pay if they send their children to private or parochial schools."

Preaching at the Solemn Mass on Easter in the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul in Philadelphia, Archbishop John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., declared that there is a "common pattern of assault against Catholic schools around the world." He called attention to the fact that Catholic schools are under attack in Belgium, South Africa, the Belgian Congo and Argentina. In our own coun-

At this point it may also be noted that until after the Civil War several states continued to give public aid to denominational schools⁶) most of which were Protestant. In the early decades of our Republic this was a common practice. The Protestants at that time raised no cry of separation of Church and State. In view of the injustice committed, and in view of the recognized need of giving religion once more its rightful place in the schools of the land, the question is being raised in various quarters whether a return to the earlier policy of public aid is not demanded.⁷⁾

Speaking to the convention of the Cincinnati Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men, December 8, 1954, Archbishop Alter raised the question: "Why can't we get more justice for all our citizens? Why can't there be some reimbursement for parents educating their children outside the public school system, to which the First Amendment entitles them? They should not be asked to pay twice." To create a climate of opinion that will bring about a just solution is a prime task for any nation that takes pride in its democracy.

In seeking to find a correct and satisfying answer to the question, the time-honored principles and ideals of democracy must serve as a guide. Since the turn of the century much blood has been spilled in two World Wars in its defense in all parts of the globe; billions and billions of taxpayers' dollars have been spent for its preservation and expansion. It would be worse than mockery, indeed a tragedy, if it were not honored in a field than which none can be more important for a nation, namely, that of education.

We shall find it difficult to explain concepts and principles of democracy to some of our foreign friends if we do not accept them wholeheartedly and apply them without fear or favor in our country.

(To be continued)

MOST REV. ALOSIUS J. MUENCH, D.D.

try the attack, subtle and somewhat veiled, would make the child the creature of the State, would make non-public schools subject to a license, and would make private education so expensive as to induce Catholics to abandon their schools.

⁶⁾ Gabel: *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁷⁾ Gabel: *op. cit.*, p. 42.

SOCIAL REVIEW

German Expenditures on Refugees

CHANCELLOR KONRAD ADENAUER announced on April 3 that West Germany has spent 26,000,-0,000 marks, \$6,188,000,000, for the care of refugees from the East since 1945. Since the war, more than 9,000,000 Germans have been expelled or have fled Communist East Germany and the former German territories taken over by Poland and Russia.

In an address over America's German-language radio station in Berlin, Adenauer said 7,000,000,000 marks, 666,000,000, was spent for housing for refugees. The remainder went for pensions, rents and assistance in winding up businesses or purchasing land, he said.

Supreme Court Rules Against Non-Public Schools

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT has let stand a decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court which, in effect, holds that a private, non-supported school is not as important to the general welfare as a public school. The nation's highest tribunal dismissed an appeal brought against the Wisconsin decision because it found there was want of a substantial Federal question.

The case originated a year ago when City Building Inspector, Sid H. Sinar, of Wauwatosa, refused to issue a permit for construction of a Lutheran high school in a residential zone of Wauwatosa. Inspector Sinar held the city's zoning law barred school construction. The zoning laws would allow building of a public school in the area, but not a private school.

The Wisconsin Lutheran High School Conference took the case to Circuit Court, where the decision of the building inspector was overruled. The case then was taken to the Wisconsin Supreme Court, which upheld the building inspector.

The Wisconsin high court decision held that public and private schools serve different interests and that a public school has "a virtue which the others lack, namely, that it is located to serve and does serve that without discrimination."

The private school imposes on the community all disadvantages of the public school but does not compensate the community in the same manner and to the same extent," the Wisconsin high court ruled.

\$700 Billion in Debts

THE TOTAL AMERICAN INDEBTEDNESS is once again causing concern among government officials, bankers and insurance executives. While consumer credit is usually a favorite subject for the worriers, there are some uneasy feelings about the total of mortgage and other nonconsumer indebtedness.

A compilation by the Institute of Life Insurance shows that government, business and private debt has passed the \$700,000,000,000 mark. It includes \$293,000,000,000 in Federal debt, \$38,000,000,000 in state and local government debt, \$213,000,000,000 in corporate debt, and \$165,000,000,000 in individuals' debt.

Interest rates on this total vary from less than one per cent on some kinds of government securities to thirty per cent or more on some kind of government securities to thirty per cent or more on some personal loans. At a three per cent average, it would cost \$21,000,000,000 a year.

The total of all debts is about \$4,300 per person, and the personal debt is \$800 per person. While most people are chiefly concerned about their own installments, in the end individuals pay the carrying charges on all debts, either in higher taxes or in the purchase price for goods they buy.

As to what may be done by way of reducing these enormous debts, Elmer Roessner stated in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of March 31:

"Not an awful lot will be—or can be—done about the size of government debt and very little will be done about its growth.

"Business debts are under pretty close scrutiny of banks, insurance companies and other lenders. If there is runaway inflation or hysterical speculation, the Federal Reserve may exercise some of its controls. But no such action now seems imminent.

"Personal indebtedness consists largely of mortgage debt and consumer credit. While consumer credit has increased from \$8,000,000,000 outstanding in 1946 to just under \$30,000,000,000 today, it appears to be leveling off. The figures show that people are paying off their debts as fast as new debt is being contracted," Arthur O. Dietz, president of the CIT Financial Corporation points out.

"That leaves only the mortgage debt. Many banks are being more selective in the mortgages they grant these days."

Repression of Religious Schools

MORE THAN 5,000 Protestant mission schools for black African children closed on March 31. The Protestant churches agreed reluctantly to hand over or sell the mission schools to the Government.

The Roman Catholics, however, refused to transfer six hundred and eighty-one schools to the Government under a new law assailed by critics among the clergy and the press as a step to strengthen racial segregation (apartheid) in South African education. The Catholics will try to run their schools with a seventy-five per cent state subsidy.

The Protestant Church of the Nazarene also refused to hand over four schools.

Prior to the act, Bantu (native) education in the mission schools was fully supported by the Government, which paid one hundred per cent of the teachers' salaries plus an amount equivalent to rent on the church-built schools. The Government now has decided to transfer all native education from the Department of Education to the Department of Native Affairs. A cut of twenty-five per cent in the state subsidy to the mission schools was a first step.

Claims that the Church is showing hostility toward the South African government because it refuses to hand over its Bantu mission schools to the state are "devoid of all foundations," Archbishop William P. Whelan of Bloemfontein stated.

"Unwillingness to commit suicide, even where this may be bureaucratically desired," the Archbishop said, "cannot reasonably be described as evidence of non-cooperation. The Catholic Church cannot vote itself out of education any more than it can vote itself out of existence."

Traffic Accidents

A moderate decrease in the nation's automobile accident toll in 1954 has been reported by The Travelers Insurance Companies. Traffic deaths totaled 35,500 last year, as compared with 38,500 in 1953. The injury count reached 1,960,000, as compared with 2,140,000 in the previous year. The totals are statistics from *Misguided Missiles*, the twenty-first in an annual series of traffic accident data booklets published by The Travelers. Accident facts from every state in the country are collected and analyzed for the publication by Travelers statisticians.

Excessive speed was the most dangerous driving mistake again in 1954, killing 12,380 persons. The 1953 total was 13,870. The injury total resulting from excessive speed remained about the same as the preceding year—659,000.

Drivers under twenty-five years of age were involved in more than twenty-four per cent of 1954's fatal accidents, although they constituted only about fourteen per cent of the total of all drivers.

Week-end crashes accounted for 13,980 killed and 678,000 injured. The 1953 week-end record was 15,800 killed and 800,000 injured. *Misguided Missiles* also reports that thirty-nine per cent of the deaths and thirty-five per cent of the injuries occurred on Saturdays and Sundays last year.

The pedestrian record reflected improvement for the fourth consecutive year. Pedestrian deaths were reduced to 7,700 in 1954, as compared with 8,600 in 1953. Crossing between intersections (jay-walking) remains the chief cause of pedestrian deaths and injuries.

New automobiles are more dangerous than those manufactured in the '40's, three Cornell University accident investigators say. John O. Moore, director of Cornell's crash injury research project, and two assistants, Boris Tourin and John W. Garrett, told the American Society of Mechanical Engineers convention on April 21 that at best fifteen years of automobile design has shown no advance in "crash-worthiness."

A controlled study of four hundred and seventeen highway accidents showed a significant rise in serious and fatal accidents involving automobiles manufactured since 1950, they said. On "the most conservative basis," new car designs have not demonstrated any improvements in safety. Both the older and the newer type cars are involved in the same types of injury-producing accidents, Moore said, and the same things are causing the accidents. He cited, as an example, front doors opening under impact with the same frequency, allowing occupants to be thrown out.

Moore said other cases showed new automobiles even more dangerous structurally than older models. He said thirty-two per cent of the drivers of older cars were injured by steering components, while forty-five per cent of the drivers of newer automobiles were injured by the same structures. He also noted an increase in injuries to the lower extremities of the body in newer car wrecks.

Farm Co-op Membership

THE NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS in the various farm cooperatives in our country has reached record high of 7.5 million for the year 1952-53, according to the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Though this figure shows only a slight increase over the year 1951-52, it represents an almost one hundred per cent gain over the membership of farm co-ops of ten years ago.

It is to be noted that the above figure indicates memberships, not individual farmers. Actually these memberships represent some three million farmers, many of whom belong to more than one cooperative.

There was a small decline in the number of operatives in 1952-53, from 10,166 of the preceding year to 10,114. The loss occurred in marketing and service cooperatives largely because of consolidations. Farm supply associations showed a significant gain in number, accounting for one-third of the total. They also gained in their membership, now having 3.1 million members—a gain of one hundred million over 1951-52.

The West North Central region—comprising Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas—led in the number of associations with 3,975 and memberships of two million. These associations did a net business valued at more than 2.4 billion. Minnesota had the largest number of associations of any individual state in 1952-53—1,330, with Wisconsin next, having 866. Iowa was third with seven hundred and eighteen farm co-ops. Illinois led in membership with 573,337. In value of business transacted California led the Nation, showing a net value of slightly more than \$803 million.

Care of the Aged

THE ARCHDIOCESE of Detroit has purchased the 700-room Hotel Detroiter in the heart of downtown Detroit. The hotel will serve as a residence and activities center for the aging and retired, layfolk and clergy. It will be taken over by the Archdiocese on June 1, and the work of converting the building to its new purposes will begin immediately thereafter.

Facilities planned for the new center include a large chapel, medical and rehabilitation departments, an arts-and-crafts center, as well as diet kitchens and medical dispensaries on each residential floor. A happy feature of the new center's location is its proximity to St. Patrick's Church, one block away. This permits prospective resi-

dents to maintain a regular parish association in addition to having "in-residence" religious accommodations.

The new home is designed to serve also as a downtown "club" and center of interests for the aging who live in private homes. To encourage these to participate, an organized program of "harvest age" interests and activities will be conducted. Priests of the Archdiocese who have retired from the active ministry may also reside at the center. A special section will be reserved for them.

Operation and administration of the new center has been entrusted to the Carmelite Sisters for the Aged and Infirm, of Germantown, N. Y. This community which operates similar houses in many other large cities including New York, Philadelphia and Boston, has agreed to provide twenty-five of its members to make up the original staff of the new enterprise.

Socialism in India

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH disclosed that on April 20 India's Parliament paved the way for government expropriation of private property. It was a major step in Prime Minister Nehru's plan for a Socialist society.

By a unanimous vote of all one hundred and thirty-nine members present, the upper House completed passage of a constitutional amendment giving legislators the right to fix the payments for expropriated property. Under the amendment, the legislator's decisions on compensation will not be subject to appeal.

The government sponsored that provision with the argument India was too poor to pay "the market rate for properties acquired for large-scale reforms." Only the formal assent of President Rajendra Prasad is now required.

The amendment removes from the jurisdiction of the courts the power to decide the amount of compensation, giving that right solely to Parliament and the state legislatures.

Opponents of the bill—mostly members of the Hindu Mahasabha right-wing party—have said they feared the amendment will scare off foreign capital. But Nehru insisted in a speech last week "nothing can be farther from the intention of the bill than in any way to injure foreign capital or business interests in India." He rejected Communist arguments that the government should expropriate foreign capital without compensation, saying: "I am certain even the Soviet Union will never do it." He said the amendment was intended to speed necessary land and social reforms and industrial developments "through the normal democratic processes."

HISTORICAL STUDIES AND NOTES

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND CATHOLICS

I.

This series of four installments on "Theodore Roosevelt and Catholics" by Father Zwierlein, is introductory to a book on this subject by the same author which will come off the press in the near future and will be dedicated to the Catholic Central Verein in token of its Centennial. The series on "German Pioneers of the Faith," thus interrupted, will be resumed in the October issue. (Ed.)

1. Assemblyman - 1882

THEODORE ROOSEVELT's first recorded contacts with Catholics in public life made a very bad impression upon him, so that he declared: "The average Catholic Irishman of the first generation, as represented in this (New York) Assembly, is a low, corrupt and unintelligent brute." (Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*: Vol. II, p. 1470)

Mr. Elting E. Morison's eight volumes of Theodore Roosevelt's Letters have printed in Appendix I of Volume II the latter's Diary of Five Months in the New York State Legislature, which assembled in full force January 2, 1882, with sixty-one Republicans and sixty-seven Democrats in the Assembly, making a total of one hundred and twenty-eight Assemblymen.

Among the Democrats were eight Tammany men who daily cast their ballots, as Roosevelt wrote January 7th, "for a tall thin Irishman, named J. J. Costello, a thorough-faced scoundrel, and therefore a fitting candidate for the lowest branch of the lower New York Democracy."

While Roosevelt acknowledged that "a number of Republicans, including most of their leaders, are bad enough, he was certain that there could be no comparison between the personnel of the two parties as shown by their representatives in that assembly. For he characterized over half of the Democrats, including almost all of the city Irish, as vicious, stupid-looking scoundrels, with apparently not a redeeming trait beyond the capacity for making exceedingly ludicrous bulls."

What Theodore Roosevelt considered rather a good "bull" had been perpetrated that day by Mr. Bogan, "one of the Tammany men, a little celtic liquor seller, about five feet high, with an enormous stomach and a face like a bullfrog." No rules had yet been adopted for the Assembly; but Mr. Bogan rose to a point of order under the

rules. Told there were no rules as yet, he moved that they be amended till there are some—all this in a thick Irish brogue.

Altogether there were some twenty-five Irish Democrats in the House, either immigrants or sons of immigrants, almost all of whom came from the great cities of New York, Brooklyn, Albany and Buffalo. Characterizing them again on January 12th as "a stupid, sodden, vicious lot, most of them being equally deficient in brains and virtue," Roosevelt nevertheless found amongst the Irish Assemblymen "three or four who seemed to be pretty good men (O'Brien, Walsh, Haggerty and M. J. Costello)."

Haggerty was a Tammany man, but the seven remaining members of Tammany were said by Theodore Roosevelt on January 24th to be "totally unable to speak with even an approximation to good grammar; not one of them can string together three intelligible sentences to save his neck (their arguments being all of the *'ad hominem'* character—"You lie")."

Unable to do their own thinking, these Tammany members, according to Theodore Roosevelt, were managed "by the commands of some of John Kelly's lieutenants . . . always in the Assembly Chamber," among whom the chief seemed "to be General Spinola, born in Ireland, (who) fought in the Civil War, profane, obscene, corrupt and withal possessing plenty of pluck and rough good humor."

The County Democrats from New York were rated by Theodore Roosevelt only a little better except Hampden Robb of New York who was "as good as the best Republicans." The other County Democrats were said by Roosevelt to be "whipped into line by the Commissioner of Public Works, Hubert O. Thompson," who spent most of his time in Albany instead of at his job in New York.

Roosevelt traced an ugly pen picture of this man, writing January 24th: "He is a gross, enormously fleshy man, with a full face and thick lips; wears a diamond shirt pin and an enormous seal ring on his little finger." This man centered his work in several handsome parlors of the Delevan House, "where there is always champagne

free lunch; they are crowded from morning night with members of the Assembly, lobbyists, hangers-on, office holders, office seekers and s of greater or lesser degree."

Even subtracting the worst element of all, twenty Irishmen, Roosevelt estimated the Republican average still higher than the Democratic average. This was strikingly illustrated to him by the proportions represented in the two parties. He counted liquor-sellers, two bricklayers, a butcher, a baconist, a pawnbroker, a compositor and a typesetter in the House—all Democrats. The majority of the farmers and lawyers were Republicans. Finally, Theodore Roosevelt found among the best members of the House two Republican farmers named O'Neil and Sheehy, the grandsons of Irish immigrants. Even at that time not all Irishmen were democrats, as a recent American Catholic writer of English stock seemed to think.

It took time for the two wings of the Democracy to come together and elect Mr. Paterson of Troy speaker of the House. As such, he announced the Committees on February 14th when Roosevelt found himself appointed to the Committee of Cities. Its chairman was an Irishman, Murphy, who had been Colonel in the Civil War. According to Roosevelt's description: "He is a tall stout man with a swollen red face, a black moustache and a ludicrously dignified manner; always wears a black coat (very shiny) and has a long experience in politics—so that to undoubted pluck and a certain knowledge of parliamentary forms, he adds a great deal of stupidity and a decided looseness of ideas as regards the eighth commandment."

The other Democratic companions on the Committee did not strike Roosevelt's fancy any more. John Shanley of Brooklyn was an American-born Irishman who, therefore, seemed to Roosevelt easier to get along with than Murphy, "being more Americanized, but fully as dishonest." Another American-born Irishman was McDonough from Albany, while Higgins was "a vicious little Celtic non-entity from Buffalo." Roosevelt then mentioned as other Democratic members of this Committee: Gideon, a New York Jew "who had been a bailiff and is now a liquor seller;" Dimon, a County Democrat, "either dumb or an idiot—probably both; and finally "a Tammany Hall gentleman named MacManus, a huge, flesh, unutterably coarse and low brute, who was formerly a prize fighter, at present keeps a low drinking and dancing saloon, and is more than suspected of having gun his life as a pickpocket."

These were all Democrats. In addition, there were four Republicans on the Committee, including Theodore Roosevelt, who had not too much to enter into this Diary to the credit of his Republican associates on the Committee of Cities. Monk from Brooklyn was "a well meaning, but very weak man." Goddar, an old North Country farmer, had been Colonel of the "61st" during the Civil War and led the charge up Lookout Mountain at Chattanooga; he was "a good man, yet apt to waver." Finally Carley was "the very essence of negation." To Roosevelt the Committee was, therefore, "about as bad as it possibly could be; most of the members are positively corrupt and the others are really singularly incompetent." (Vol. II, p. 1471)

In retrospect twelve years later, Theodore Roosevelt wrote from Washington, April 11, 1894, C. P. Connolly with whom he quite agreed "as to the outrageous iniquity of condemning a whole class for the misdeeds of a few people." He was able to give Mr. Connolly a concrete example of what he meant, recalling his experience in the Legislature of the State of New York where there was "a pretty bad lot of representatives from New York City, as I am afraid there usually is." The majority of these, by birth or descent, were Irish Catholic members and "were tough citizens." Nevertheless, Theodore Roosevelt was able to write to Mr. Connolly:

Three or four of their number, not only from New York, but from Brooklyn, and a much larger proportion of the Representatives of the same race-origin from the rest of the State of New York, were peculiarly high-minded men.

Now I simply treated them as I treated the country members who were most of them of old American stock; that is, I heartily warred against the bad, and I heartily supported the good members. I do not claim any credit for this, because with my make-up it would be quite impossible for me to take another attitude.

By taking this position I found that the good men, who were opposed to me not only in politics but in religious faith, stood up in support of any move I made for decent government in the most hearty and cordial manner. (Vol. I, p. 372)

I am inclined to think that the warmest backers I had in the New York Legislature

were men like O'Neil, Kelly, Costello, Sheehan (not the Lieutenant Governor) Welch and a dozen others whose names I could give and whose names sufficiently show the country from which their ancestors came. In my Assembly District in New York my warmest friends have been as often Catholics as Protestants. (Vol. I, p. 372)

By that time Theodore Roosevelt had come to realize what a power the Catholic vote had become, especially when it was united with those of another faith. While Hill and Tammany seemed to be pulling for Cleveland in New York, he informed Henry Cabot Lodge from Washington, October 11, 1892, that "the movement among Lutheran and Catholic Germans against us is most formidable, and it seems a landslide unless the latent Americanism in native Democrats is awakened—and though that may be, I hardly dare to hope for it." (Vol. I, p. 292) Here it is evident that Catholic Germans were voting Democratic for Cleveland, despite the ignorant theory of that American Catholic writer of English stock who nicely divided to his satisfaction German Catholics on the Republican side of the fence and Irish Catholics on the Democratic side.

2. *The A.P.A.*¹⁾

Roosevelt's phrase, "latent Americanism in native Democrats," by no means meant the A.P.A. business which, as he wrote Mr. Connolly, helped "the very element in the Catholic Church to which I am opposed, and to which I would be equally opposed in any Protestant Church." He therefore informed Mr. Connolly how the local A.P.A. solved his doubts in appointing a civil service board recently in Michigan, when he was in doubt which of two men he was to put on it. When the A.P.A. entered a protest against one of the men on the ground that he was a Catholic, Theodore Roosevelt "promptly put the Catholic on, just as I would have put on a Protestant, if he had been opposed merely because he was a Protestant. (Vol. I, p. 373) He then intervened in Michigan because President Harrison in 1889

had appointed Theodore Roosevelt U. S. Civil Service Commissioner. He served as President of the Board to May, 1895, when he resigned to become Police Commissioner of New York City.

Theodore Roosevelt valued Mr. Connolly's correspondence with himself "all the more, coming from the West." Things were not developing quite so satisfactorily in the East, particularly in his own State of New York, on the A.P.A. question, although encouraging news came from a neighboring state, from Henry Cabot Lodge to whom Roosevelt had written from Oyster Bay October 8, 1894: "I think that no good can be done with such a movement as the A.P.A." (Vol. I, p. 400) Mr. Lodge sent Theodore Roosevelt the clippings containing the account of his State's Convention; Mr. Roosevelt thought the platform admirable, wishing "we had as good a one here in New York." Roosevelt feared: "We may possibly be hurt a little by the fact that our men were timid about taking action one way or another that would seem to recognize the trouble caused by the A.P.A." Lodge's State had frankly faced this issue in a special plank; Roosevelt predicted the result: "The A.P.A.'s won't cut any figure at all." (Vol. I, p. 401)

Out in Cincinnati, a prominent Catholic, Bellamy Storer, a Republican, had been defeated in the election for Congress where he had had two terms in the House under Republican President Harrison. He and his wife, Maria Longworth Storer, a convert to Catholicism, were warm friends of Theodore Roosevelt who had seen them since coming back to their house in Washington. Although Bellamy Storer minded his defeat much, Theodore Roosevelt wrote Henry Cabot Lodge: "He is just as sweet and good as ever." (Vol. I, p. 402)

Sunday morning, October 14, 1894, Mrs. Maria Storer showed Theodore Roosevelt a letter in which Bishop Keane stated that Mr. Gardiner, the Secretary of the Democratic Committee, asserted that the Republican Committee was helping in the circulation of A.P.A. documents. The next morning Roosevelt went to the Republican Committee Rooms to see Mr. McKee who informed him, "in the strongest and unequivocal language that there is not a word of truth in Mr. Gardiner's assertion." In fact, as Mr. McKee informed Theodore Roosevelt, "no A.P.A. people or people with A.P.A. proclivities have asked him for such documents." Whatever requests of that kind have come to him, have always come from Democrati-

¹⁾ Commonly known as "The A.P.A." the American Protective Association was a secret proscriptive society in the United States, which became a disturbing factor in most of the Northern states during the period 1891-97. Its purpose was indicated clearly enough by its open activity in arranging lectures by "ex-priests," distributing anti-Catholic literature and opposing the election of Catholics to public office.

toys. According to Roosevelt, Mr. McKee had every reason to believe that one of these was sent Senator Gorman, "doing his best to lure one of the sub-ordinates of the Committee into compromising himself in some manner."

Writing Bishop Keane, October 15, 1894, Theodore Roosevelt felt no need of telling him how heartily he was "opposed to the A.P.A., or anybody that seeks to attack a man politically because of his creed, or to bring the question of religion into American politics, as any one could." For he felt "the same indignation at any discrimination, political or otherwise, against a Catholic because of his religion" that he felt "if a Protestant is discriminated against for similar reasons," and he would "pay no heed to party considerations in denouncing any man or body of men who thus, in a political contest, discriminated against Catholics or against Protestants." Finally Theodore Roosevelt charged any man with acting so badly as it was possible for any one to act if he tried "to use this feeling for party purposes," "to excite it by false accusations for momentary partisan gain." He therefore begged Bishop Keane "to get Mr. Gardiner to produce his witness that we may find out where the truth lies." Meanwhile, as a matter of fact, the Republican Committee was "extending precisely the same help to Republican candidates who are Catholics, of whom there are several, as it is to other Republican candidates, and its actions are supervised by the National Committee, one of whose members at least, Mr. Kerens of Missouri, is a Catholic." (Vol. II, p. 404)

While Theodore Roosevelt came out as strongly for the rights of Catholic citizens as for the rights of Protestant citizens, he nevertheless felt differently towards different types of Catholics. He manifested this in writing from Washington, March 19, 1895, to Dr. Charles Henry Parkhurst who had "a peculiar right to be heard on any question of civil morality in New York." One of the reasons for his staunch friendship with Excise Commissioner Murray, he wrote Dr. Parkhurst, was that Murray represented "that large wing of the Catholic Church with which I have utmost sympathy, the wing which is liberalized and Americanized and is always the object of the intense hostility of the ultramontane section." This European word, "ultramontane," hardly fits to the geography of the United States, and the vision of American Catholics into liberal and

ultramontane does not by any means adequately represent real party divisions that might be distinguished amongst American Catholics. What made Theodore Roosevelt sympathize with Murray from the standpoint of American citizenship was Murray's record, as he gave it to Dr. Parkhurst, writing:

Murray is a staunch upholder of the public schools. He has always sent his own children to them and has refused to allow them to go to the parochial school.

He is an ardent opponent, and has always been, of any effort to use State money in aid of any sectarian institution. When in the Legislature, I was the chief opponent of the bill giving an appropriation to the Catholic Protectory. Many of the Catholics, including almost all the priests of my district, stoutly assailed me for this. Murray stood by me manfully.

Though a strong Republican, he openly announced his emphatic approval of Mayor Hewitt's course in refusing to allow the Irish flag to be floated over the City Hall, stating, when a Democrat took that stand, he was going to support him, yet he himself was an Irishman by birth (though he was brought to New York when he was only a little over a year old).

Last year he was one of those Catholics who took a prominent part in breaking down the effort to persuade the Catholic voters that they should support Grant against Strong for fear of there being A.P.A. influence on the Republican and citizens' side.

... He was the clerk of Cities to young Ernest Crosby, the son of Dr. Howard Crosby, when Crosby was in the Legislature; and Crosby found, as I had found, that he was implicitly to be trusted. Dr. Howard Crosby was one of those who urged Mayor Grace to have him appointed Excise Commissioner.

Murray does not always possess people at first sight. He is a rugged fellow who has had to battle hard in life ever since the days when, as a mere boy, he served in the Union Army; and like a good many men I know, he sometimes permits his dislike of cant to lead him to the opposite extreme and makes him anxious to say much less in behalf of virtue than he intends to.

But I believe that you will find him active and zealous in the effort to give a good administration of the Excise Office, and that any suggestions from you, either as to concrete instances or general measures, will be met by him with an earnest desire to forward your wishes. (Vol. I, p. 414 sq.)

Here again a Catholic Irishman appears as a prominent Republican to belie the theory of the Catholic American writer of English stock that Irishmen were Democrats while Germans were Republicans.

(To be continued)

REV. FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN
Rochester, N. Y.

Book Reviews

Received for Review

L'Amour du Prochain. Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 7.
(No price listed)

Valentine, Ferdinand, O.P., *The Apostolate of Chastity.* The Newman Press, Westminster, Md. \$3.25.

Keener, Rev. Joseph A., *Germaine "The Saint We Need."* C. F. Petelle, General Agent, Box 289, Maywood, Ill. 15 cents.

Reviews

Bennett, John C.; Bowen, Howard R.; Brown, Wm. A., Jr.; Oxnam, G. Bromley, *Christian Values and Economic Life.* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954. Pp. 272. \$3.50.

THIS BOOK IS THE FIFTH in a six-volume series "on Ethics and Economic Life produced by a study committee of the Federal Council of Churches." Previous volumes have made use of competent economists and scholars in other fields—Kenneth Baulding, Elizabeth Hoyt, Margaret Reid, just as this one uses Howard Bowen and W. A. Brown, Jr.

There is a Christian simplicity and earnestness about the book which is most engaging. These men approach the problems of modern economic organization with becoming gravity, but also with a deep conviction of the relevance of Christian Love for their solution. The emphasis is in the right place; the relation of economics and ethics is not distorted to make the Gospel yield economic principles. Rather it is Christian Charity which furnishes the maxims and the atmosphere for a cooperative approach to the problems and to a correct use of the output of the economy.

Despite an excellent summary and analysis by Professor Bowen, two circumstances limit the usefulness of the book. First, too much is attempted. One cannot deal with "relationships between the problems faced by individuals in their economic life and psychoneurosis" (p. 91), and with the economics of Part IV (p. 173 sq) in the same small volume and get much kindling cut. This probably explains the other limiting circumstances which is summarized in a quotation from William Temple, Archbishop of York: "We know the ultimate moral principle of all human relationships—'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' But we do not know at all clearly how this is to find expression in the relations to one another of corporate groups such as Employers Federations and Trade Unions, or different nations; nor

how it bears on the actions of trustees such as the Directors of a Company or the Government of a country. We lack what one school of Greek moralists call the 'middle axioms,' those subordinate maxims which connect the ultimate principles with the complexities of the actual historical situations in which action has to be taken." (p. 199)

Pius XI is favorably quoted on the necessity of public ownership of some forms of wealth and Leo XIII is credited with inspiring the work of American priests toward strengthening the labor movement. "A major proposal, emanating from many sources including the Roman Catholic Church, is for broader participation in business and economic decisions. To this end industry councils and national economic councils are often proposed." (p. 74) There is no evaluation of this. "Roman Catholicism has long had a highly developed economic ethic; from the Protestant standpoint it has erred on the side of offering too many assured answers to ethical questions which cannot be disposed of so easily." (p. XI) From the standpoint of Catholic social principles this criticism is unwarranted. Would that individual Catholics had never said or written anything to make it plausible, nevertheless,

REV. B. W. DEMPSEY, S.J.
Marquette University, Milwaukee

Moriarty, Frederick L., S.J., *Foreword to the Old Testament Books.* Weston College Press, Weston, Mass., 1954. Pp. ix+118. \$1.00.

Much interest in the reading of the Bible has been evidenced in recent years, as can be gathered from articles in magazines, from books about the Bible and from paraphrases of the Old and New Testament stories. The Church has furthered this interest by authorizing new translations of the Bible.

It remains, however, quite necessary to have aids in the intelligent reading of the Bible. An understanding of what one is reading is just as important as to read. For it remains true, as St. Peter remarked long ago, that some read the Scriptures to their own undoing.

In order to make the reading of the Old Testament profitable, *Foreword to the Old Testament Books* gives needed help by providing the very data required for each book of the Old Testament. The author has made use of much information recently discovered through archeology, history and other sciences. He does no

uplicate the text with long discussions of controverted points. The book will be welcome to the general reader as well as to college students who are studying the inspired records. The Weston College Press has put a reasonably priced volume in very serviceable and attractive binding, with clear type, convenient sub-heads, necessary, guide to pronunciation, and several skillfully drawn maps.

This moderately priced book will help make your reading of the Bible to be of greater profit and a pleasure.

REV. JOHN J. JOLIN, S.J., PH.D., S.T.L.
Regis College, Denver

Hertling, Ludwig, S.J., *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Morus Verlag, Berlin, 1954. Pp. ix+333.

Americans who can read German will enjoy spending several evenings with this book. Father Hertling, professor at the Gregorian University in Rome, presents the European view of the growth of the Church in the United States. Interest in this book results not only from the fact that the author writes on European subjects, but also from the prominence he gives to the observations of European travellers such as De Tocqueville (1831) and Salzbacher (1842). Fully acquainted with the works of Maynard and Roemer, Hertling endeavors to combine the merits and eliminate the demerits of both. His style, like Maynard's, is pleasant; yet his narrative shares Roemer's objectivity. Moreover, he avoids the latter's metronomic division of the subject matter, and he makes the entire fabric of the book colorful by weaving into it sketches of Weninger, Brownson, Taney and others who deserve special recognition. After all, it is men, not abstractions, who make history.

The opening line of the preface declares that this book is for European readers. Consequently, well informed Americans should not be surprised when they find much that is obvious and little that is new. The many insights and side lights that are striking cannot be prosecuted because there are no footnotes. Though a bibliography is given, the compiler admits its limitations. The paper, typography and illustrations leave nothing to be desired.

Because any book of this nature is admittedly highly subjective, arguments about contents are futile. However, the author's comments on geography seem out of place in a rudimentary a book. Unfortunately, he shuns subjects that recently concerned American Catholics. Franco and Hitler do not merit even a single entry in the index; sociology the same is true for Coughlin, Haas and Frankel; Messmer's significant letter on the morality of World War I is absent. In some places the book is sharply focused: e.g., p. 145, the number of sisters who served as nurses in the Civil War is known, also the number of chaplains. On pp. 43, 44, 146, 148, 214, the author quotes or cites but does not give the name. At the bottom of p. 168, the name would add precision and it might make the difference between a validly and validly consecrated schismatic bishop.

Hertling does not view Gibbons with rose colored

glasses. This is in accord with sound scholarship. Yet I doubt whether the Cardinal ingeniously planned to lead Abbelin into a trap when he gave him the letter of introduction to Roman authorities (p. 188). He credits Corrigan with noble traits (pp. 210, 226) and he absolves Katzer from Pan-Germanism (p. 220). The latter assuredly was blamed for many things that he was innocent of; but Hertling's exoneration, tinged with irony, is only declarative—not documentary. Hertling suggests that the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore did not dodge controversial issues. If this was the case, why did the most bitter controversies occur immediately after it adjourned?

With considerable truth the author describes Americans as reticent (p. 9). This makes pleasant reading after learning by experience that many Europeans find us unbearably bombastic. The German abroad, on the other hand, makes himself obnoxious by assuming the role of schoolmaster over his fellow citizens (p. 186). If the German appears unduly attached to his language, Hertling points out how easily the adult emigrant forgets it entirely in contrast to the Italian who does not forget his mother tongue that quickly (p. 167).

The author, having read discriminately, does not fail to comment on Shaughnessy's defective statistics. At times he is severe in his characterizations, e.g., that of Briand; and he subtly appreciates Gibbons' absenting himself at times *krankheitshalber*. Here and there an apt phrase occurs such as *Nikodemus-Seelen haben es in einer Amerikanischen Pfarrei nicht leicht*. But it simply is not true to say without qualification *Obwohl der Pfarrer keinen Unterricht erteilt, muss er sich oft in der Schule sezen lassen* (p. 298).

The index refers to Heiss on p. 167, yet the name is absent. Perhaps "Henni" should read "Heiss" because the latter expressed such an opinion in a controversial interview which he gave to a reporter of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 18, 1887. With Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans*, p. 128, in mind, I wonder whether Hertling does not mean Ireland instead of Gibbons on p. 192. Of course, both might have entertained identical sentiments. In view of Schroeder's place in American Church History, his controversy with F. X. Kraus in 1881 (p. 235) needs elaboration. Aherne in his biography of Keane scarcely touches the point and Barry likewise misses its significance. Keane should have known of this when he engaged Schroeder; if he did, what reason did he have for expecting the latter to change the temper of his thought?

Hertling refers to the shibboleth, *Wer seine Muttersprache verliert, verliert seinen Glauben*, but like all others he fails to probe its roots. Who were the authors that linked religion inseparably to language? Were they perhaps proponents of organicistic theories of state? What about the philosophy of the *Romantik*? Was something akin to a Turner thesis at work? If that deceptive axiom—embraced alike by Slavs and French Canadians—occurred so much generosity, abetted so much clannishness, and engendered so much suspicion, its provenance ought not to remain hidden.

REV. B. J. BLIED, PH.D.
Fond du Lac, Wis.

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Communications concerning the Central Verein should be addressed to the General Secretary, Albert Dobie, 95 Carleton, Hamden 14, Conn.

All correspondence intended for either *Social Justice Review* or the Central Bureau, all missions gifts, and all monies intended for the various projects and funds of the Central Bureau should be directed to

Central Bureau of the Central Verein
3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Mo.

Reports and news intended for publication in *Social Justice Review* should be in the hands of the editor not later than the 18th of the month preceding publication.

O F F I C I A L

TO THEIR EMINENCES AND THEIR EXCELLENCIES OF THE HIERARCHY, TO THE RIGHT REVEREND, VERY REVEREND AND REVEREND FATHERS, TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC CENTRAL VEREIN OF AMERICA:

A CENTURY AGO TODAY, on April 15th, 1855, seventeen stalwart members of Catholic parish societies met in St. Alphonsus Hall in Baltimore. For four days they prayed, deliberated and worked, and then brought into being a union of Catholic societies, the first of its kind in this land of ours—the Catholic Central Verein of America.

What they sought, to use their own words, was to bring about "a closer union of Catholics, especially of the various societies, according to the spirit and laws of the Church, for the protection of Catholic interests."

They sought the peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ, a peace which a pagan world, a materialistic world, an atheistic world cannot give: Peace among nations; peace within nations, peace among all men of good will; peace in the family; peace in the heart of every man.

What a glorious tradition is ours: a century of loyalty to Christian principles, a century of fidelity to Christian truth, a century of good works and Christian charity, a century of dedication to Catholic action.

Our faithful societies of the City of Rochester and of the great State of New York have tendered a gracious invitation to hold our one-hundredth convention at St. Joseph's Church of the Redemptorist Fathers, where the idea of a federation of Catholic societies was first broached in 1854. As an act of historical justice, we are returning to the scene of our humble beginnings. Need we prod our affiliated societies to be represented at this great historical event?

As we gather, however, to commemorate our centenary, we find a world divided into two armed camps with spiritual forces of Jesus Christ and His Church on the one side, opposed by the powers of atheistic materialism on the other. But the peace of Christ is the burning desire of the nations. It is this peace which will be the theme of our historical convention, as indicated in our convention motto:

*Peace is founded on a union of souls
in the same truth and in charity.*

(Pope Pius XII, 1954 Christmas Message)

Praised be Jesus, Mary and Joseph!

ALBERT J. SATTLER
President

ALBERT A. DOBIE
General Secretary

Issued at New Haven, Conn.

April 15, 1955

CV Centennial Motto

NY CATHOLIC social action group which hopes to be true to its purpose must be contemporary in its thinking and planning. The Catholic Central Verein always tried to achieve this ideal. In fact, it has placed itself on often being ahead of the times in its social thinking. It has pioneered in such important spheres as education, labor, family subsistence, social construction, etc. Always the Verein has endeavored to add its contribution to the solution of social problems aiding in beating the paths which lead to the coveted goals.

The most coveted goal at this moment is without doubt the attainment of true and lasting peace. Every social, economic or political problem is in some way related to the present state of world unrest. Either these problems stem directly from a lack of peace, or their solution is rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible, because there is no peace. Suffice it to say that the pursuit of true peace according to Christian principles must be foremost in the minds of all who are interested in the welfare of society. Thus the Central Verein, in observing the important milestone of its centennial, would feel itself essentially lacking and very remiss if at its forthcoming convention in Rochester it did not devote itself to the attainment of that cherished goal to which our present Holy Father has dedicated his sole pontificate. For he has said in his most recent Christmas message: "We feel that it was the intention of Divine Providence to assign to us the particular mission of helping by means of patient and almost exhausting toil, to lead mankind back to the paths of peace."

The very theme of the CV Centennial Convention will be peace according to the Christian concept. Accordingly, the motto, taken from the Pope's Christmas message above quoted, gives the most basic and indispensable constituent of peace "a union of souls." This our centennial motto: "Peace is founded on a union of souls in the same truth and in charity."

One of the two major addresses at the Civic Demonstration of the Rochester Convention will be devoted to this motto. Rev. Frederick Zwierlein, retired professor of Church History at St. Bernard's Seminary in Rochester, will speak on "A World Divided." Father Zwierlein, a life-long student of history, is well suited to this assignment.

At this writing Austria has just regained her independence. Western Germany has been recognized as a sovereign nation by the Western Powers. Are these portents of a better future? Has the world at long last begun its trek to a peaceful existence? We would like to think so, although our sense of realism forbids

At best we are still in "that agonizing state of easiness and danger" in which the world fluctuates between alternating periods of "cold peace" and "cold war." The only redemption from this plight is to be sought in the spiritual and moral bases of true peace. It is to focus our minds and hearts on these principles the Central Verein will pray, deliberate and work when it convenes its hundredth convention in Rochester, August 13-18.

New York Branches Report Progress in Centennial Convention Preparation

THE SPRING EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meeting of our New York State Branches at Hotel Seneca in Rochester on April 24 was attended by an exceptionally large number of men and women delegates from many parts of the State. Chairman of the meeting was Mr. Frank E. Popp, president of the CV of New York.

Most of the afternoon's business comprised a discussion of the elaborate preparations for the Central Verein's Centennial Convention in Rochester, August 13-17. All reports, of which there were many, showed substantial progress made. It was a happy and eager group of representatives who gave abundant evidence that they were ready to assume the tremendous burden of sponsoring the most important convention in the Central Verein's long history. The entire programs of the national conventions of the CV and the NCWU as well as the schedule for the one-day gathering of the State Branches were discussed in great detail. Convention headquarters for both national and State conventions will be in Hotel Seneca, while all the religious services, including the Solemn Pontifical Mass on Sunday, will be held in St. Joseph's Church of the Redemptorist Fathers. It was in St. Joseph's school hall in 1854 the idea of the Central Verein was born.

One important item of business, other than those relating to the national conventions, was the report of the Legislative Committee which functions very effectively under the able chairmanship of Mr. Peter J. M. Clute of Schenectady. With the cooperation of the NCWU and the Grand Commandery of the Knights of St. John, the New York CV Legislative Committee again helped to block passage of a bill in the New York Legislature which would liberalize the present strict laws of the State relating to divorce. Progress was also reported in combating the current abuses of obscene "comic books" by the adoption of two bills which will restrict the distribution of such harmful literature. Bills introduced to have Good Friday declared a legal holiday died in committee.

After the meeting the delegates assembled in St. Joseph's chapel for Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, which was followed by a buffet luncheon and a social hour in the hall.

Rev. Victor T. Suren, director of the Central Bureau, was scheduled to attend this meeting of the Executive Committee. However, due to a seven-hour delay because of a train wreck, he arrived just as the meeting adjourned at 5:00 P.M. But Father's visit was not in vain. He received a most hearty welcome from the delegates at the buffet luncheon when he addressed them briefly. Immediately after the luncheon he met with Mr. Joseph Gervais and Mrs. Loretta Schaefer, co-chairmen of the Convention, and with the heads of various committees. A most helpful discussion ensued during which all matters pertaining to the Convention were considered at some length. Father Suren was most impressed with the generosity and the enthusiasm of delegates whose loyalty to the CV is truly admirable.

District and Branch Activities

St. Louis

THE SECRETARY OF THE St. Louis and County District of the Catholic Union of Missouri, Mr. Wm. Ahilien, has submitted reports of his organization's February and March meetings.

The March meeting convened in the hall of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Parish where the pastor, Rev. A. Baumann, extended words of warm welcome to the delegates. Several important reports were given by chairmen of the various committees. In the absence of Mr. James Zipf of the Legislative Committee, Mr. C. J. Furrer, president of the District, asked all present to write their Representatives in Jefferson City in favor of House Bill-100 which would provide bus transportation to all children attending both public and non-public schools. Mr. Furrer also expressed his belief that a "right to work" bill would be introduced in the current legislative session.

A communication was read from the Director of the Central Bureau calling attention to articles on the nature of Catholic Action by Msgr. Luigi Chivardi in *Social Justice Review*. In his letter, Father Suren also asked the officers and members to acquaint themselves with the Central Verein's Declaration of Principles adopted at the 99th general convention and to discuss these declarations at the monthly meetings of their societies.

Mr. Anton Niemeyer, a representative of St. Francis de Sales Benevolent Society and a member of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, spoke on a proposed city bond issue of \$100,000,000. He announced that fluoridation of the city's water supply would go into effect on July 1. Mr. Niemeyer read bill 476 of the Board of Aldermen which pertains to the prohibition of the sale, display, printing and distribution of so-called comic books and other printed matter which feature crime and obscenity.

The guest speaker of the evening was Rev. Edward Schlattman, pastor of St. Francis' Church in Portage des Sioux and former chaplain of the Missouri State Penitentiary. He discussed the life of incarcerated criminals, pointing out that only a small percentage of them are hardened criminals. The chaplain has opportunity for doing much constructive work among the inmates, such as teaching prospective converts to the Catholic Faith. As a result of Father Schlattman's well-received lecture, the hat collection of \$10.15 was sent to his successor, Rev. Alois Stevens, present chaplain of the State Penitentiary.

Right Rev. Msgr. A. A. Wempe, spiritual director of the St. Louis District League, opened the March meeting at the parish hall of SS. Peter and Paul.

After various delegates reported on the activities of their respective societies, president Furrer called on Mr. Edwin Debrecht, president of the Catholic Union of Missouri, who reported on House bill 100 and its substitute, House bill 533. Subsequently the Missouri Legislature rejected both the original bill and its substitute, so that children attending non-public schools are still deprived of bus transportation.

Mr. Dan Winkelmann, chairman of the Board of Directors of St. Elizabeth Settlement, gave a brief address on the institution he represents. He spoke of the improvements under way at the time. The buildings of St. Elizabeth's were being decorated in preparation for the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Nursery.

Mr. Andrew Hustedde reported that the Catholic Union was about to gain two new affiliates, while the Missouri Branch of the NCWU had succeeded in obtaining three new societies.

Rev. Edw. Bruemmer, pastor of SS. Peter and Paul's, delivered the address of the evening. He spoke of the conditions obtaining in the parish of St. Joachim, Old Mines, where he served as pastor prior to his coming to SS. Peter and Paul's. He paid special tribute to the Rural Parish Workers of Christ the King, a group of laywomen who are laboring among the natives of Old Mines.

Before adjournment, the men contributed \$19.28 in a hat collection which was given to St. Elizabeth Settlement.

Western District—Texas

District president, Herman J. Kneupper of New Braunfels conducted the annual meeting of the Western District of the Catholic State League at Fredericksburg on May 1. Father Joseph J. Hildebrand, V.F., the local pastor, officiated at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at St. Mary's Parish prior to the meeting at which he welcomed the two hundred and fifty delegates and visitors.

Reports were given by the following State officers: Joseph A. Steinle of Dunlay, president of the C.S.L.; Mrs. N. L. Stippich, vice-president of the NCWU in Texas; Mr. Ben Schwegmann, Sr., president of the Catholic Life Insurance Union; Mr. Ludwig Narendorf of High Hill, president of the Youth Section.

Mr. Charles A. Breitung of Austin addressed the meeting on the Boy Scouts, while Mr. Michael Smith of D'Hanis discussed the problems facing people in the rural sections.

St. Joseph's Parish in Honey Creek was selected as the meeting place for 1956.

Rev. Joseph H. Winkelmann, New CV Life Member

ON APRIL 28, Rev. Joseph H. Winkelmann, pastor of Sacred Heart Church in Rich Fountain, Mo., enrolled as a Life Member in the Catholic Central Verein. Throughout his forty-one years in the priesthood Father Winkelmann has shown himself a true friend of our organization. He still is a regular attendant at the meetings of the Jefferson City Deanery District of the NCWU. In his letter to the director of the Central Bureau which accompanied his check for Life Membership, Fr. Winkelmann wrote: "May the Central Verein continue its good work for another century."

Convention Calendar

ENTENNIAL CONVENTION of the Catholic Central Verein and Thirty-Ninth Convention of the National Catholic Women's Union: Rochester, N. Y., August 13-17. Convention Headquarters: Hotel Seneca, Connecticut Branches of the CV and the NCWU: Hartford, June 4 and 5.

V of New York and the New York Branch of the NCWU: Hotel Seneca, Rochester, August 13.

Catholic State League of Texas and Texas Branch of the NCWU: Muenster, August 29, 30, 31 and September 1.

Catholic Union of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania Branch of NCWU: Beaver Falls, September 10, 11 and 12.

Catholic Union of Missouri and the Missouri Branch of the NCWU: St. Charles, Mo., September 17, 18 and 19.

Catholic Union of Arkansas and the Arkansas Branch of the NCWU: Subiaco, September 24 and 25.

Catholic Union of Illinois and the Illinois Branch of the NCWU: Wilmette, October 28, 29 and 30.

Mr. Sattler Re-elected Head of N.C.C.M.

AT THE RECENT national convention of the National Council of Catholic Men, Mr. Albert J. Sattler, president of the Central Verein, was re-elected to the highest elective office in the Council for a period of three years. Heretofore all officers in the National Council were chosen for terms of a single year only. The extension of the term of each elective office was brought about by a change in the By-laws, according to which the N.C.C.M. will henceforth conduct bi-annual meetings instead of annual meetings.

As was observed when Mr. Sattler was first elected to the presidency of the men's Council, his is a rare distinction, viz., to hold the presidency in two important Catholic societies of national proportions. His competence and devotedness in office are well known to all members of the Central Verein because of their direct contacts with him. It is gratifying to us to be able to tell our readers and the members of the Verein at large that Mr. Sattler also enjoys the respect and confidence of his fellow officers and the members in the men's Council. We tender him cordial felicitations on his re-election and wish him continued success in important roles of lay leadership.

The Late C. J. Isaia Enrolled As In Memoriam Member

THROUGH THE KINDNESS of Mr. F. Wm. Kersting, past-president of the Pennsylvania Branch of the Central Bureau has received a \$100 contribution in payment of the usual fee for an *In Memoriam* enrollment on behalf of the late Constance J. Isaia of Pittsburgh. The fees thus collected, as well as those given for Life Memberships, are placed in the Foundation Fund of the Central Bureau, thus giving the assurance for its continued existence.

Maryland Branch Notes

CV Centennial

A RECENT NEWS ITEM in the *Catholic Review* of Baltimore discloses the fact that the Maryland Branch of the Central Verein gave special attention to the centennial of the national organization at its meeting on April 3 in St. Michael's Hall, Baltimore. The feature of the meeting, very stimulating and inspiring, was a lecture by one of the members, Mr. Joseph T. Molz, an attorney. Mr. Molz spoke on "right to work" legislation, giving both sides of this controversial subject. He handled his subject with care and precision. The rapt interest of the delegates bespoke their appreciation. A very lively discussion followed Mr. Molz's lecture.

It was most fitting that our Maryland Branch take cognizance of the CV Centennial at its April meeting. The Verein was actually founded April 15, 1855, in the hall of St. Alphonsus (Redemptorist) Parish in Baltimore. Significantly, the Maryland Branch is now experiencing a second spring, due principally to the efforts of a Redemptorist Father, Rev. Joseph J. Schagemann, founder of the Maternity Guild Apostolate. He has been ably assisted by Mr. Molz who is imbued with the Verein's traditional interest in the Social Question.

May God bless Fr. Schagemann and our Maryland Branch. May this organization again flourish with its pristine vigor.

Archbishop Ritter Visits St. Elizabeth Settlement

THIS YEAR OF 1955 marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of St. Elizabeth's Settlement and Day care Center in St. Louis. The Board of Directors and the staff have decided to observe this anniversary with several fitting celebrations in the course of the year.

The initial celebration of the series was an "open house" for the members of the Board and their husbands and wives on April 24. The afternoon's activities began with Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament given by Fr. Suren in the institution's beautiful chapel. This was followed by a conducted tour of the Settlement and a buffet luncheon.

Everyone present on this occasion was most pleased with the visit of Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter. His Excellency was kind enough to remain for the entire program of the afternoon. He spoke at some length after the luncheon, signifying his joy and satisfaction over the interest on the part the laity in such institutions as St. Elizabeth's. He again paid a glowing tribute to the late Mr. F. P. Kenkel, founder of the Settlement. He commented favorably on the excellent state of repair in which he found the three buildings of the Settlement. Many of the rooms and halls had been recently decorated by the Sisters and a group of men from the St. Louis District of the CV.

An "open house" at St. Elizabeth's for the general public has been scheduled for late October.

PERSONALIA

Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Ph.D., Professor of History at Quincy College, who was recently honored by the Franciscan Order with the title *Lector Generalis Jubilatis*, has been further honored by the national magazine, *The Americas*. The January, 1955, issue of the magazine is dedicated to Father Francis. The title page carries the following note: "This issue of *The Americas* is respectfully dedicated to the Reverend Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Charter Member of the Academy of American Franciscan History and of the Editorial Staff of *The Americas*."

The dedication of the magazine to Father Francis was occasioned by the celebration of Father Francis' Golden Jubilee in the Franciscan order held at Quincy College last year.

The Americas is a quarterly review of inter-American cultural history published by the Academy of American Franciscan History.

On April 24, Archbishop John Gregory Murray of St. Paul solemnly invested **Rev. James A. Byrnes**, pastor of Annunciation Church in Minneapolis with the robes of a domestic prelate.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Byrnes has had a long and distinguished career of service to the Catholic Church. Born in Minneapolis on October 12, 1884, he was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Ireland on June 11, 1911. After pursuing post-graduate studies in Louvain, Belgium, and at the Catholic University of America, he returned to St. Paul in 1917 and for the next three years served as professor and chaplain at the St. Paul diocesan seminary. In 1920 he was appointed as the first diocesan director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and as the first diocesan superintendent of schools.

In 1927 Father Byrnes undertook the establishment of the Diocesan Teachers' College and in 1935 opened a grade school for the hard-of-hearing. His broad experience with the problems of education also gave him an acute awareness of the growing problems of the Catholic Church in the rural areas, both on the front of primary education and on the broader front of pastoral care. His interest in this field led him into the Catholic Central Verein and into the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, to both of which he rendered invaluable leadership. In 1935 he became executive director of the NCRLC and under his guidance the quarterly NCRLC *Bulletin* was founded.

Msgr. Byrnes has attended several national conventions of the Central Verein and has always been outspoken in his praise of our organization's program. Close friend of Mr. F. P. Kenkel, he paid the illustrious founder of the Central Bureau a glowing tribute in a letter to the Bureau's present director early this year. We salute Msgr. Byrnes and felicitate him on the well-deserved honor that has come to him. May he continue his constructive efforts for the spread of God's Kingdom.

Visitors to the Central Bureau

EARLY IN APRIL two visitors from Germany called the Central Bureau: Dr. Konrad Poepelt and Dr. Peter P. Pauquet. Both were touring the United States under the Leadership Exchange program functioning between our country and Germany.

Dr. Poepelt is administrator for social work in Lower Saxony, Germany, while Dr. Pauquet is editor-in-chief of the archdiocesan newspaper in Cologne. Both distinguished visitors showed keen interest in the Central Verein program and the work done at the Central Bureau. They expressed unfeigned admiration at the Verein's philosophy of mutual self-help as contrasted with the prevailing trend of over-reliance on Government aid. Both felt that undue dependence on Government assistance is a short and certain road to State Socialism.

The leader of the Central Verein movement in the State of Idaho, Mr. Joseph Kaschmitter of Cottonwood, accompanied by his wife, paid a day's visit to the Central Bureau on April 27. Mr. and Mrs. Kaschmitter were en route home after a visit in Texas. Although the stop at the Central Bureau entailed a delay in the return to Cottonwood, they were intent on seeing the Central Bureau and its personnel none-the-less. The Director and his staff deeply appreciate the kindness of the Kaschmitters, especially in view of the fact that for the past several years Mr. Kaschmitter has been seriously handicapped in his travel by arthritis.

Joseph Kaschmitter served as a member of the House of Representatives in the State of Idaho for two sessions. He was dissuaded from seeking a third term because of his physical disability. When, some time ago, he visited the House while in session, he was accorded an enthusiastic welcome. He is kindly remembered by his colleagues for his consistent and forthright defense of sound moral and political principles. He consistently pleaded for a greater influence of religion and morality in government and education.

Mr. Kaschmitter has long since distinguished himself as a leader in the Central Verein. Since 1940 he regularly attended the national conventions of our organization in spite of the fact that usually such attendance entailed great sacrifice on his part in terms of time, convenience and money. He was present in San Antonio, Texas, for the 98th CV convention, but fears that his present physical condition will not allow him to be among those present for the centennial celebration this year in Rochester, New York. Nevertheless, Mr. Kaschmitter has been very busy in recent months collecting for the Central Verein Centennial Fund among the small membership in Idaho.

The members of the Central Bureau staff thoroughly enjoyed the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Kaschmitter. It is genuinely inspiring to meet people from our ranks who are such well-informed and enthusiastic workers in the lay apostolate. We hope and pray that it will please God to grant Mr. Kaschmitter relief in his present illne-

distinguished personage, the Most Reverend Jerome Fernandez, Bishop of Quilon, India, honored the Central Bureau with a visit on April 25. His Excellency explained that religion generally is suffering much from inroads made by the Communists in India. There elsewhere, they are exerting a strong appeal on the educated classes. For this reason Bishop Fernandez is bent in expanding the facilities of a Catholic college which he is particularly interested. He contends, very logically, that it is extremely necessary for the future of India and the Catholic Church that the young people in his country receive a religious education, in such as it is from their ranks that people are recruited to roles in the Government. The Bishop was in the United States for the purpose of collecting funds for his college.

ever since the erection of a special seminary at Koenigstein, West Germany, for the training of priests to work among Catholic expellees, the Central Bureau has been in correspondence with Msgr. A. Kindermann, founder and head of the Koenigstein Seminary.

On April 25, Dr. Kindermann paid a personal visit to the headquarters of the Central Verein and spoke in detail of his important work. He explained that 3,000 priests accompanied the 6,000,000 Catholic expellees who now live in the East and West Zones of Germany. This situation was aggravated by the fact that many of the expellees were resettled in sections of many that were predominantly non-Catholic. Out of the necessity for providing a sufficient number of priests for the care of these hapless victims of expulsion was born the idea of Koenigstein.

In buildings which once served as a barracks for 1,000 soldiers, major and minor seminaries have been established. Approximately four hundred students have been enrolled thus far. Up to the present time one hundred and two priests have been ordained, most of whom are laboring in the diaspora. In addition 3,000 priests use Koenigstein as a "fatherhouse" for meetings, retreats, etc. Thus Koenigstein has become a center of Catholic life for the refugees. No less than forty motor chapels go out from this center to minister to the spiritual needs of Catholics scattered in various parts of Germany.

The Central Bureau has on many occasions assisted Dr. Kindermann in his worthy project by way of sending books for the seminary library, clothing, vestments, etc. At the present time there is need for extending the facilities of Albertus Magnus Seminary at Koenigstein. For understandable reasons the expellees are unable to bear the financial burden of building additions to the seminary. Hence Dr. Kindermann is soliciting financial assistance in our country.

St. Anthony's Benevolent Society in St. Paul, Minnesota, through its treasurer, Mr. J. A. Jungwirth, sent the Central Bureau a donation of \$10.00 "to help you up your good work serving our Church and Society."

Mission Aid and War Relief

ON APRIL 15 the Central Bureau made shipments of sundry items to home and foreign missions with the cost of postage listed as follows:

Foreign Missions

3 cartons—bandages, pads, bedshirts— to Formosa	\$13.36
3 cartons—bandages, pads, bedshirts— to Africa	12.46
4 cartons—bandages, pads, bedshirts— to British Guiana	20.28
4 cartons—bandages, pads, bedshirts— to French West Indies	10.60
4 cartons—bandages, pads, bedshirts— to British Guiana	20.28
1 carton—rosaries, medals, scapulars, holy pictures—to India	2.14

European Relief

1 carton—dress goods, muslin—Germany	1.74
1 carton—men's underwear—Germany	4.63
1 carton—men's underwear, quilt—Germany	2.67
1 carton—Sisters' clothing—Germany	5.07

Home Missions

1 carton—First Aid Kit, children's wear	1.74
Total postage	\$94.97

On April 20, thirty-five bales of clothing weighing a total of 4,375 pounds were sent to poor missions in the North, South and Southwest of our country. In addition to the clothing, these missions received the following:

7 cartons of shoes (210 pairs)	225 lbs.
6 cartons of medical supplies	150 lbs.
4 cartons of soap	120 lbs.
2 cartons of baby food	80 lbs.
2 cartons of religious articles	50 lbs.
1 carton toys	30 lbs.

The drayage and postage on these sundry items sent to missions in our country amounted to \$244.87. This expense as well as the cost of shipping the above listed goods to foreign countries was paid by the Central Bureau out of its operating funds. Virtually all the articles shipped were donated by members of the Central Verein and the National Catholic Women's Union.

A Benedictine missionary in Red Lake, Minnesota, is thankful to the Central Bureau for help received. He writes: "I wish to acknowledge and thank you most cordially for the supply of books which you sent to our Mission recently. They are very welcome and will be put to good use... Our work is expanding here at Red Lake. At present we have twenty-five pupils in our Mission school."

Contributions to the CV Library

General Library

M R. OTTO SCHULTZ, Illinois. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 3 Vols., Summer, Autumn, Winter, 1954, Springfield, 1954.—REV. ALOYSIUS A. STUMPF, Mo. *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, Vols. 1, 2, London, 1896.

Acknowledgment of Monies and Gifts Received

Make Checks and Money Orders Payable to Central Bureau of the C.V.

Address, Central Bureau, 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Missouri

Donations to Central Bureau

Previously reported: \$6,596.76; New York State Branch, C.C.V. of A., \$5; Theo. Nebel, Ill., \$2; Wm. Wittman, N. Y., \$2; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$6,605.76.

Chaplain's Aid Fund

Previously reported: \$306.22; St. Francis de Sales Benevolent Society, St. Louis, \$3.30; C.W.U., N. Y., Inc., \$75; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$384.52.

St. Elizabeth Settlement

Previously reported: \$23,931.55; Greater St. Louis Community Chest, \$1,700; from children attending, \$1,037.85; Interest Income, \$31.50; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$26,700.90.

Foundation Fund

Previously reported: \$730.00; In Memoriam, Vincent J. Wollschlager, Conn., \$100.00; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$830.00.

European Relief Fund

Previously reported: \$1,717.50; Albert Scholz, N. Y., \$5; Gerhard Seidel, Mo., \$10; Theo. Nebel, Ill., \$2; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$1,734.50.

Catholic Missions

Previously reported: \$13,632.91; per Rev. V. T. S., \$13; August Springob, Wis., \$10; Mrs. Edith Meinert, Mo., \$8; Alice Greven, Ind., \$5; Frank Jungbauer, Minn., \$5; N. N. Mission Fund, \$37.50; N. N., Mo., \$1; Miss M. Buggle, Mo., \$40; Wm. J. Sullivan, Fla., \$40; N. N., Mo., \$25; Theresa C. Wright, Mass., \$79; Theo. Nebel, Ill., \$2; Y. D. D. L., St. Louis, \$20; Clara Zoeller, Mo., \$1; Mrs. A. Mueller, Mo., \$7; Mrs. E. Laskowski, O., \$1; C.W.U., N. Y., \$129; Dan Winkelmann, Mo., \$32; Martha Fries, N. J., \$35; Sisters, Academy of Our Lady, Ill., \$5; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$14,128.41.

Christmas Appeal

Previously reported: \$5,055.50; Rev. A. E. Westhoff, Mo., \$10; St. Joseph's Men's Society, Ft. Recovery, O., \$5; Edward Telker, Mo., \$2; A. M. Herriges, Minn., \$1; Rev. John Manian, Mo., \$5; Theo. Nebel, Ill., \$1; Herman Wolf, Minn., \$5; Mrs. Frank Fischer, Mo., \$5; Antonie M. Linhart, N. Y., \$5; Rev. A. Bromschwieg, Mo., \$5; C.W.U., Maryland Branch, \$10; Miss Teresa Konsbruk, Minn., \$5; Dan Wilkelmann, Mo., \$10; Total to and including April 29, 1955, \$5,124.50.

Gifts in Kind

were received from the following men and organizations of men up to and including May 5, 1955.

ARTICLES FOR CHURCH & SANCTUARY USE: Knights of St. Geo., Pittsburgh, Pa., (religious articles); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Geo. J. Hildner, V.F., Mo., (surplices); Very Rev. Msgr. Jos. Vogelweid, Mo., (1 Mass Missal); Dr. Charles J. Voekeler, Mo., (religious articles).

WEARING APPAREL: Ed. Debrecht, Mo., (clothing); Very Rev. Msgr. Leo P. Henkel, Ill., (2 ctns. clothing, shoes); Rev. E. Fallert, Mo., (clothing); Rev. Peter J. Rahill, Mo., (priests' clothing); Wm. Killel, Mo., (children's clothing); Very Rev. Msgr. Jos. Vogelweid, Mo., (priests' clothing, men's clothing); Dr. Charles J. Voekeler, Mo., (2 ctns. clothing); Johnsons Stephens & Shinkle Shoe Co., St. Louis, (8 cases, 2 prs. shoes).

BOOKS: Rev. A. Kiefer, Ill., (83 copies of *America* Historical Review, 1 book); C. K. of St. George, Pittsburgh, Pa., (book); Rev. Bern. C. Stoll, St. Louis, (43 books); Rev. Fr. Auer, Mo., (171 books); Mr. Schultz, Ill., (4 books); Frank J. Heller, Minn., book).

MAGAZINES: C. K. of St. George, Pittsburgh, Pa., (6 parcels magazines); Henry Renschen, Ill., (parcels magazines); Henry B. Dielmann, Tex., (magazines); Frank Jungbauer, Minn., (magazines); Cyril J. Furrer, Mo., (magazines); Rev. Jos. Mai, Mich., (magazines); Dr. Charles J. Voekeler, Mo., (magazines); Catholic Knights of St. George, Pittsburgh, Pa., (magazines).

QUILTS AND COMFORTS: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Geo. J. Hildner, V.F., Mo., (comforts).

TINFOIL: Anthony S. Celko, Pa., (tinfoil).

MISCELLANEOUS: Bernard Boland, Mo., (remnants of cloth); Johnson-Stephens & Shinkle Shoe Co., Mo., (7 cases, 210 prs. shoes); Anthony S. Celko, Pa., (cancelled stamps); Louis J. Schoenstein, Calif., (24 back numbers of CV Proceedings); Rt. Rev. George J. Hildner, V.F., Mo., (bandages); Catholic Center Society, N. J., (medicines); Cyril J. Furrer, Mo., (cancelled stamps); Peter J. M. Clute, N. Y., (cancelled stamps, greeting cards); Very Rev. Msgr. Jos. Vogelweid, Mo., (sample medicines); Dr. Charles J. Voekeler, Mo., (toys, curtains, etc.).

From a subscriber to *Social Justice Review* in Philadelphia: "Your articles and news coverage are the best; and they are written without a note of dogma in them."

The Central Bureau, though a Catholic institution, serves the general public in a cultural way. Not long ago a request was received from the Interlibrary Loan Librarian of Wayne University in Detroit who sought verification of an article in a Catholic weekly which has now ceased publication. The pertinent information was supplied, in return for which the following acknowledgement was sent to Mr. Johnson of the C.B. staff:

"I wish to thank you for your complete response to the request directed to you by Miss Hoagland of our library staff. You were most kind and your inclusion of the typed articles was above and beyond any call of duty. If I can ever help you, please feel free to call on me."